The Kabyle People

Glora M. Wysner

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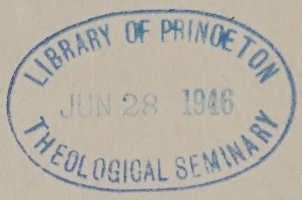

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THE KABYLE PEOPLE

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By

Glora M. Wysner

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FOREWORD

SO little has been known of the mountain people of Algeria and that little has been so inaccessible that this careful study of the Kabyles is most welcome at this time. The increasing significance of the populations which have been brought into new focus in a world of new methods and routes of transportation calls for much wider knowledge of the people themselves in order that the resulting contacts may be of advantage to all.

The author of this volume is well qualified as a trained observer and by reason of residence in the country to present this detailed and documented study both as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, conferred by the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Connecticut, and to the public for the general reader.

A student of North African affairs will use this volume as background material and for reference, and anyone concerned with international interests will profit by reading so penetrating an analysis of one of the groups which may swing into the advance of modern life in the Mediterranean area, or, if unfavorably dealt with may afford another barrier to progress.

This volume is heartily commended to all who welcome the kind of information which can foster understanding.

AGNES C. L. DONOHUGH.

New York City,
May, 1945.

PREFACE

THE Kabyles are a little known people. The writer worked among them for eleven years. Feeling often an inadequacy in the building of a missionary program with so little available information, it has seemed desirable to gather material which would give a picture of the people, and make it possible for those going to work among the Kabyles to have some knowledge of them before beginning. It is to be hoped that this study will arouse new interest in the Kabyles and provoke further and more detailed research.

The writer is deeply indebted to Professor Agnes C. L. Donohugh for her constant and careful help in the preparation of this book. She also wishes to acknowledge the encouragement and advice received from Dr. E. E. Calverley and other members of the faculty of the Kennedy School of Missions. In addition, the writer is grateful to the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, who made possible this opportunity for study and research.

GLORA M. WYSNER.

New York City,
May, 1945.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

ONE of the very first statements heard in a discussion of the Kabyle people who live in the Djurdjura mountains of Algeria, North Africa, is that they are a people whose cultural patterns have remained static for centuries. Writers who have described them say that they have not changed since the beginning of historic time.

Bodley says of them: "Berbers they were two thousand years ago, Berbers they are still, and, like men of the Hoggar, of the Aures and of the Riff, they remain unaltered, and there seems little prospect of anything changing them." [1]

French writers who knew the Kabyles well were of the opinion that they have remained what they were the day they first appeared in history,[2] and that those who inhabit the mountains (Djurdjura), have preserved their autonomy longer than any other race or group, and have maintained more intact their ancient usages.[3] They also point out that one of the most remarkable phenomenon of North African history is the ability of the Berber race, of which the Kabyles are a part, to conserve its language, its individuality, and even its political independence at times, in spite of all the revolutions within and conquests from without their land.[4]

Keane notes that: "Nothing is more astonishing than the strange persistence not merely of the Berber type, but of the Berber temperament and nationality, since the stone age, despite the successive invasions of foreign peoples during the historic period." [5] It is by no means uncommon to see a Kabyle shrug his shoulders and then to hear him say: "We have always been thus, we cannot change."

Even here, however, authorities disagree and we find those

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[1] Bodley, R. V. C., *Algeria from Within*, Copyright 1927. Used by special permission of the publishers, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, p. 242.

[2] Hanoteau, A., and Letourneux, A., *La Kabylie et Les Coutumes Kabyles*, Vol. III, p. 56.

[3] Ibid. Vol. I, p. 3.

[4] Hanoteau, A., *Essai de Grammaire Kabyle*, p. viii.

[5] Keane, A. H., *Man, Past and Present*, University Press, Cambridge, by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, p. 470.

who hold that studies of the dynamics of primitive life disclose no foundation in fact for an assumption of long-continued stability. Primitive conditions studied in detail reveal a state of flux, periods of stability being followed by periods of rapid expansion or adaptation.[6]

At other times, the change is very slow, almost imperceptible, and without ostentation. Society cannot remain stable for even very slight changes in their piled effects will often produce marked results.[7]

No group seems to remain entirely static, and as Ellwood says, even the most static groups undergo some change.[8] Even a Moslem chief recognized the possibility of change when he said, "Our children are born Moslem but what they will become depends upon their training." If this is true changes must have occurred in the Kabyle culture. If not, what factors by their presence have kept the cultural patterns static?

By change is meant "to become different, undergo alteration, alter, vary." [9] Change must not be confused with progress, for they are not synonymous terms. Progress may be defined as "going on to a further or higher stage, or to further or higher stages successively; advance, growth."[10] Progress involves movement in a forward direction while change may be movement either forward or backward. Since progress is defined as change in a desirable direction,[11] this would immediately involve the whole question of what is desirable and who is to set the standard of desirability. These questions are not within the province of this study.

It is not a question of whether or not any change has been progressive, but whether or not change has taken place. If there has been movement, the factors producing it are important. If there has been no change, then the factors involved in resisting it are of equal importance.[12]

> When a custom, an art, or an opinion is fairly started in the world, disturbing influences may long affect it so

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[6] Boas, F., *Race, Language and Culture*, p. 286.

[7] Ross, E. A., *New-Age Sociology*, p. 370.

[8] Ellwood, C. A., *The Psychology of Human Society*, p. 214.

[9] *The Oxford Dictionary*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 268.

[10] Ibid. Vol. VII, Part II, p. 1439.

[11] Goldenweiser, A., *Anthropology*, p. 520.

[12] Hail, W. J., Social Change, *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, pp. 330-334.

slightly that it may keep its course from generation to generation, as a stream once settled in its bed will flow on for ages.[13]

In a study of change and resistance to change it is well to look for survivals from earlier times. If such survivals are found, then a search must be made for the factors which have made possible their survival. The conditions of life under which a people live may tend to encourage or discourage change. Naturally, less variation is to be expected of a people living in isolation than of a people having close contacts with other cultures.

A change in environment or in the geographical location of a people may bring cultural change. Geographical factors may prove an obstacle to change, again they may be an asset. Also the physical environment which is favorable at one stage of development may be unfavorable at another time.[14]

In considering whether or not the Kabyles have undergone change, the historical background of the people claims attention. The different cultures which through invasion or migration have been brought into contact with these people must have left their mark on customs, or else the people must have developed the power of resistance to alteration.

Psychological changes may take place if a people passes from being a free to a subject group, or vice versa. Such new thought currents would naturally give rise to different modes of action within the group. Ignorance, which is always a deterrent to change, may be overcome through the introduction of educational facilities. Prejudice and hatred might arouse in a people resistance to change if the factors instigating it had aroused these sentiments. Again, the persistence of the aged may retard change. Fear of trying anything new may hinder change, while reverence for the way things have been done in the past is often an emotional obstacle.[15]

The social and economic aspects of the life of a people play an important role in their capacity for change. "Obviously the condition of a nation's social organization has a good deal to do with its possibilities for growth in all lines of culture." [16]

[13] Tylor, E. B., *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, p. 70.

[14] Semple, E. C., *Influences of Geographic Environment*, p. 12.

[15] Ogburn, W. F., and Nimkoff, M. F., *Sociology*, by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company, publishers, p. 836.

[16] Ogburn, and Nimkoff, op. cit., p. 800.

It has been said that what has gone before in cultural accumulation conditions what is to come after. The dependence of a new cultural trait depends always on the previously existing *cultural base.*[17]

It seems hardly possible that the Kabyles have entirely resisted change, but while some changes have come very slowly, almost imperceptibly, in other instances the resistance to change has been important.

Information concerning the Kabyle people is very limited. The most valuable books so far written about this little known race are: Ibn Khaldoun, *"Histoire des Berbers"* (translated by DeSlane) in four volumes; Gsell, Stéphane, *"Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord"* in three volumes; and the valuable work of Hanoteau, A., et Letourneux, A., *"La Kabylie et Les Coutumes Kabyles"* in three volumes.

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[17] Sutherland, R. L., and Woodward, J. L., *Introductory Sociology,* p. 718.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE KABYLES

IN order to have a clear understanding of the people and country under discussion, the explanation of a few terms at the very beginning may prove helpful.

Libya was the Greek name for the northern part of Africa, with which alone Greek and Roman history are concerned. It did not originally include Egypt, which was considered part of Asia, and first assigned to Africa by Ptolemy, who made the isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea the boundary between the two continents.[1]

It was the Romans who brought the name *Africa* into general use. They gave the name Africa to that part of the world which the Greeks called Libya. It comprised the whole of the portion of the African continent known to the ancients, except Egypt and Ethiopia. The term was certainly borrowed by the Romans from the language of the indigenous population.

In Latin literature it was employed for the first time by the poet Ennieus who wrote in the interval between the First and Second Punic wars. By him the term was confined to the territory of Carthage and the region composing the eastern group of the Atlas. The Romans used Africa as the official name of the province around Carthage, which was administered apart from Numidia and Mauretania.[2]

Among the numerous conjectures which have been made as to the etymology of the term may be quoted that which derives from the Semitic radical meaning separate, Africa being considered in this connection as a Phoenician settlement "separated" from the mother country, Asiatic Phoenicia.

It has been held that the word Africa comes from *friqi, farikia* (the country of fruit). The best hypothesis would seem to be that maintained by Charles Tissot, who sees in the word Africa the name of the great Berber tribe, the *Aourigha* (whose name would have been pronounced *Afarika*), the modern *Aouraghen* now driven back into the Sahara, but in ancient times the prin-

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 11th Edition, Vol. XVI, p. 578a.
[2] Gautier, E. F., *Le Passé de l'Afrique Du Nord,* p. 126.

cipal indigenous element of the African empire of Carthage. (Tissot, Géogr. *Comp.* i. 389.)

Thus Africa was originally in the eyes of the Romans and Carthaginians alike, the country inhabited by the great tribe of Berbers or Numidians called *Afarik*. Cyrenaica, on the east, attached to Egypt, was then excluded from it, and similarly, Mauretania, on the west.[3]

DeSlane says that *Ifrîcos* is the Latin adjective *Africus*, one of the names given to Carthage; later the term included more territory until finally all of the continent of Africa. He says that the Phoenician word Africa signifies "a part detached, a fraction," and that it was chosen to designate a body of colonies which abandoned the mother country.[4]

Ifrikiya (or *Ifrîkīa*) is the name given by the Arabs to the eastern part of Barbary. Yver believes that it is simply a corruption of the Latin *Africa*.[5] But Ibn Khaldoun says that the name was given because "Ifrîcos, son of Caïs-Ibn-Saïfi, one of the kings of Yemen called Tobba, invaded Maghreb and built there villages and cities after having killed the king, El-Djerdjis. It was after him, it is claimed, that the country was named Ifrîkīa.[6]

DeSlane points out that this legend recurs under various forms which contradict each other. Although Ibn-Hazm, a genealogist and historian of great authority, knew the story he gave no consideration to it. He says that the Himyerites never came to Maghreb except in the false accounts of the Yemenites.[7]

There are other tales just as fantastic as the one of Ibn Khaldoun in explanation of the etymology of the name Ifrikiya. "Some," writes Al-Bakri, "say that the name means the 'queen of heaven,' others derive it from Ifrikos b. Abraka-al-Ra'ish, who led an army into the Berber country and built the town of Ifrikiya." According to others, the country took the name from Afrik, son of Ibrahim and Katura, the second wife of the patriarch, or from Farik b. Misraim. Ibn al-Shabbat (quoted by Ibn Abi Dinar) connects Ifrikiya with *barik*, meaning "clear," because in Africa there are no clouds in the sky. Leo Africanus

[3] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Vol. I, p. 358-359.
[4] Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères*, Vol. 4, pp. 571-572.
[5] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, p. 453.
[6] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 168.
[7] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 572.

and Ibn Abi Dinar derive *Ifrikiya* from *faraka* "to divide" because it is separated from Europe by the Mediterranean and from Asia by the Nile, or also because it lies between east and west.[8]

Gsell says that the etymology of the word *Afrii* is unknown although it was used by Latin historians to mean the natives who had become subjects of Carthage.[9] Gautier observed that Corippus who needed synonyms in writing his doggerel seemed to interchange, whenever the measure demanded it, the names of the Africans (Afri) and the Carthaginians (Poeni, Tyrii). The rebel peoples were called by the names of their tribes, never the Africans. Gautier sees in this name a survival across the ages of a Phoenician word and thinks it suggests that a good many other things may have persisted under Roman veneering.[10]

Different writers have at different times given conflicting opinions as to the limits of Ifrikiya. According to Al-Bakri the boundaries of Ifrikiya were Barka on the east and Tangier on the west. From north to south it extended from the shores of the Mediterranean to the "sands which mark the beginning of the country of the negroes." [11] Ibn Khaldoun uses the term Ifrikiya in speaking of Tunis and Tripoli.[12] Today the part of the country that we know as Tunisia is called by the Arabs Ifrikiya.

Maghreb is the name given by Arab writers to that part of Africa which modern writers on geography call Barbary or Africa minor. Included in this are Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. The word Maghreb means the "West," the "setting sun."

The territory included under the term Maghreb varies according to different authors. They agree on the northern, southern and western boundaries, but disagree on the eastern one. The northern boundary is the "Roman Sea" (Mediterranean), the southern boundary is the Sahara Desert, the western, the "Surrounding Sea," also called the "Green Sea," or the "Sea of Darkness" and by foreigners, according to Ibn Khaldoun, *Okeanos Atlant* (Atlantic Ocean). As to the eastern boundary, some

[8] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, p. 454.
[9] Gsell, S., *Histoire Ancienne de L'Afrique Du Nord*, Vol. II, p. 99.
[10] Gautier, E. F., *Le Passé de L'Afrique Du Nord*, pp. 125-126.
[11] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, p. 454.
[12] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. I, p. X.

included Egypt, others just to the borders of Egypt.[13] Ibn Khaldoun included Morocco and Algeria in the Maghreb.[14]

The name Maghreb is little known by the public and little used by other than Arab writers but seems to apply to the mountainous country which is enclosed within the limits of the Atlas.

Mauretania is the ancient name of the northwestern angle of the African continent, and under the Roman empire also of a large territory eastward of that angle. The word Mauretania or Maurusia as it was called by the Greek writers, signifies the land of the Mauri which is still retained in the modern name Moors.[15] The limits of the country were differently defined at different times. Before the Roman occupation it comprised a considerable portion of modern Morocco. Since 1904 the French have used the term to apply to the territory north of the lower Senegal under French protection.

Numidia was the name given in ancient times to a tract of country in the north of Africa extending along the Mediterranean from the confines of Mauretania to those of the Roman province of Africa. Numidia comes from the word *nomad* and was given by the Greeks.[16] The limits of Numidia varied at different epochs of North African history. Finally under the new organization of the empire by Diocletian, Numidia became one of the seven provinces of Africa, being known as Numidia Cirtensis, closely corresponding in extent to the modern French province of Constantine.[17]

The Latins, with their occidental minds, divided Africa into provinces and territories. The so-called province of Africa which is the ancient territory of Carthage; Numidia which includes the Aures and the high valleys to the north of the Aures; Mauritania which is Kabylia, and Oran. After the downfall of the Latins the name of the province of Africa was distorted into Ifrikia and served in a measure. But the names of the Numidians and the Maures disappeared. Geographic categories did not interest the Arab, he was interested in tribes.[18]

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[13] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 3, Pt. I, pp. 108-109.
[14] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. I, p. X.
[15] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Vol. XVII, p. 908.
[16] *La Grande Encyclopédie*, Vol. XXV-I, p. 133.
[17] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XIX, p. 868b.
[18] Gautier, op. cit., p. 216.

Barbary is the designation for that part of northern Africa bounded by Egypt on the east, by the Atlantic on the west, on the south by the Sahara and on the north by the Mediterranean, comprising the states of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli. The name is derived from the Berbers, the chief inhabitants of the region.[19]

Berber is the name under which is included the various branches of the indigenous "Libyan" race of North Africa.[20]

Gsell points out that in Maghreb the term *Berber* is not racial dating from an earlier period, that it is simply the Latin word barbarus, or as was said in Roman Africa, barbar. Before the invasion of the Arabs it designated the indigenous population which remained refractory to the Latin civilization.[21]

Ibn Khaldoun says that when Ifricas invaded Maghreb and saw the people and heard them speaking a language in which the varieties and the dialects struck his attention, he gave way to his astonishment by crying, "What *berbera* is yours!" Thus they were called Berbers. The word *berbera* signifying in Arabic, "a mixture of unintelligible cries." [22]

Who the Berbers are is a question that as yet has not been satisfactorily solved. Hanoteau says that if the Berbers are not the aborigines of the country they inhabit, they have at least been there since a period which has eluded historic tradition.[23]

Ancient historians and geographers mention the Berbers under various names: the Nasamones and Psylli in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania; the Garamantes leading a nomadic life in the Sahara, the Makyles and Maxices in the Tunisian Sahel, the Musulani and the Numidians in the eastern Maghreb, the Gaetuli on the borders of the desert and the high tablelands, and lastly the Mauri occupying central and western Maghreb.[24]

Hodgson translated *"Notes of a Journey into the Interior of Northern Africa"* by Hadji Ebn-ed-Din-El-Eghwaati, in order to see how far the Berber language prevailed there. He found it to be the idiom of the aborigines everywhere in North Africa.[25]

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[19] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Vol. III, p. 383a.

[20] Ibid, p. 764b.

[21] Gsell, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 337.

[22] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 168.

[23] Hanoteau, A., *Essai de Grammaire Kabyle*, p. vii.

[24] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 698b.

[25] Hadji-Ebn-Ed-Din-El-Eghwaati, *Notes of a Journey Into the Interior of Northern Africa* (Translated from the Arabic by W. B. Hodgson), pp. III, IV.

In his descriptions of places visited this Arab writer constantly refers to Berber being spoken by the people.[26]

Ibn Khaldoun says that from the most ancient time this race of men has lived in Maghreb where they have peopled the plains, the mountains, the plateaux, and the seacoast, the country and the cities.[27]

Ibn Khaldoun, from a historical and not anthropological point of view, was concerned with the origin of the Berbers. He gives some interesting accounts as to their ancestry. He says these people belong to two great roots: that of Bernes and that of Madghis. As this latter was surnamed El-Abter his descendants were called El-Botr while the descendants of Bernes were known as Beranes. Madghis and Bernes were sons of Berr, but the genealogists do not agree that they had the same father. Ibn Hazm and others say that the Beranes are children of a Berr who descended from Mazigh, son of Canaan, while the Botr were descendants of another Berr, son of Cais, grandson of Ghailan.

According to most genealogists the Beranes form seven large tribes as follows:

1. The Azdadja
2. The Masmouda
3. The Auréba
4. The Adjîca
5. The Ketâma
6. The Sanhadja
7. The Aurîgha

Some authorities add the following three:

8. The Lamta
9. The Heskoura
10. The Guezoula

Ibn-el-Kelbi does not believe that the Ketama and Sanhadja tribes belong to the Berber race, but considers them branches of the Yemenite population which Ifricas-Ibn-Saïfi established in Ifrikïa with troops which he left to guard the country.

Some of the genealogists say that the Berbers are descendants

[26] Ibid, pp. 9, 11, 13, 14, 18.
[27] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 167.

of Yacsan, son of Abraham.[28] Some consider them as Yemenites and others of a mixed population, coming from the Yemen. According to El-Masoudi they are the remains of the Ghassanides and other tribes which scattered following the *Torrent d'Arim.* Others say they are a people left in Maghreb by Abraham-Dou-'l-Minar. Still others say they belonged to the Lakhim and Djodam tribes. They lived in Palestine but were expelled by a Persian King; arriving in Egypt they were unable to obtain from the sovereigns of the country authorization to remain there, so they crossed the Nile and scattered in Africa.

One elaborate story gives the origin of the tribes as follows: En-Noman, son of Humyer-Ibn-Seba, who was the greatest king in the epoch which separates the mission of Jesus from that of Mohammed, called his sons and said to them, "I wish to send some of you to Maghreb to people it." In spite of their protests he sent Lemt, ancestor of the Lemtouna; Mesfou, ancestor of the Messoufa; Merta, ancestor of the Heskoura; Asnag, ancestor of the Sanhadja; Lamt, ancestor of the Lamta; and Ailan, ancestor of the Heilana.

According to others, the Berbers are a part of the people descended from Goliath (Djalout). El-Taberi and others say the Berbers are a mixture of the Canaanites and Amalekites who were scattered in various countries after Goliath was killed. Ifricas having invaded Maghreb, took them from the coasts of Syria and established them in Ifrikīa. He named them Berbers.

Still another legend says the Berbers are descendants of Shem, son of Noah. Another says they are descendants of various tribes, Himyerites, Moderites, Copts, Amalekites, Canaanites, and Coreithites, who were united in Syria and who spoke a barbarous jargon. Ifricas named them Berbers because of their loquacity.

Others say that Ifricas formed an army with these people in order to conquer Africa and this was the cause of their emigration. He called them Berbers because they murmured (berberat) when he compelled them to leave a miserable country to dwell in a land of plenty.

Some say that David chased the Berbers out of Syria after having this order by divine revelation: "O David! make the Berbers leave Syria because they are the leprosy of the country."

[28] And Abraham took another wife, and her name was Keturah, and she bare him . . . Jokshan.—Genesis 25: 1, 2.

Abou-Omer-Ibn-Abd-El-Berr in *Kitab* et *Temhid* (classification of genealogies) thinks the most probable opinion of the origin of the Berbers is that they were children of Cobt (Put), son of Ham. When Cobt was established in Egypt his sons went towards the occident (Maghreb) and took for a place to live the territory extending from the frontier of Egypt to the Atlantic, and as far south as the Desert. Near there, they found themselves in the neighborhood of the Negroes.

Some say that Satan sowed discord between the children of Ham and Shem, and after many conflicts, Shem won, and Ham went toward the west (Maghreb), and his descendants were the Berbers.

After recounting all the above stories as to the origin of the Berbers, Ibn Khaldoun asserts that they are all far from the truth. He believes that the only opinion which is true and from which one cannot turn aside is this: The Berbers are children of Canaan, sons of Ham, sons of Noah. Their ancestor was named Mezigh.[29] But Ibn Khaldoun gives us no proof to show that his opinion is any nearer the truth than any of the others.

Edrisi gives the following account of the origin of the Berbers. In ancient times they lived in Palestine, at the time when Goliath, son of Dharis, son of Djana ruled. Dharis is the father of the Zenata of Maghreb who is himself the son of Loway-ibn-Ber-ibn-Caïs-ibn Elyas-ibn Modhar. After David killed Goliath the Berber, the Berbers passed into Maghreb, going to the farthest extremities of the country and scattering themselves there.[30]

Tribal titles, *Barabara* and *Beraberata* appear in Egyptian inscriptions of 1700 and 1300 B. C., and the Berbers were probably intimately related to the Egyptians in very early times. Thus the true ethnical name may have become confused with *Barbari*, the designation naturally used by classical conquerors. But Gautier holds that the name Berber appeared with the Arab invasion.[31]

Berber does not represent a unified group and various Berber tribes have had different names. It has no consciousness of unity,

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[29] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 167-185.

[30] Edrîsî, *Description de L'Afrique et de L'Espagne* (Texte Arabe publié Pour La Première Fois d'Aprés Les Man. de Paris et Oxford Avec Une Traduction, Des Notes et Un Glossaire par Dozy, R. et DeGoeje, M. J.), p. 66.

[31] Gautier, op. cit., p. 410.

no generic name and today is even more than before divided into separate groups.[32]

Although the actual origin of the Berbers is unknown there are various theories about the people. In the divisions of peoples into Hamites and Semites, the pre-Arabian Libyans and Berbers of North Africa belong to the Hamites.[33] The division of peoples into Hamites and Semites goes back to the time of the sons of Noah, when we find the divisions of the nations, those belonging to Shem and those belonging to Ham.

The Berbers, according to some anthropologists, are Hamites belonging to the white race. They first appear in history in ancient Egypt, but in somatic type the Egyptians did not differ from other peoples of North Africa. This same type still persists all along the Mediterranean coast and the anthropologists call this the Mediterranean race.[34]

In late geologic time Europe and Africa were connected; the flora and fauna as well as the human type were the same both north and south of the Mediterranean Sea. This is also true of Palaeolithic time. De Morgan and other anthropologists hold that the palaeolithic civilization originated in North Africa and spread northward to Spain, France, and Southern England.

At the break-up of the glacial epoch, there was a great depeopling of the earth by the floods of the Quaternary Age. Only gradually was it re-peopled. In parts of North Africa, like Egypt, this re-peopling by men of the Neolithic Period took place after a long lapse of time. But Barton feels that even if this is true there is no evidence that any new race had in the meantime entered North Africa. It is probable that its neolithic inhabitants were descendants of the survivors, who, during the Quarternary floods had taken refuge on the higher lands and mountains.

All evidence tends to show, according to Barton, that it was in North Africa, including perhaps the Sahara Desert, that the Hamitic race developed during the millenia after the last Glacial Epoch. He concludes thus:

> The fact that they (the Hamites) belong to the white race, that that race has, so far as we can tell, been in this

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[32] *La Grande Encyclopédie*, VI-I, p. 262a.
[33] Barton, G. A., *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, p. 1.
[34] Marett, R. R., *Anthropology*, p. 104.

> region since the last Glacial Epoch, and that the purest Hamitic languages are found north of the Sahara, whence the present Hamites have never, apparently migrated, all tend to establish the hypothesis that the Sahara Desert and the part of Africa north of it is the region where this race developed.[35]

The Berbers belong to the Northern Hamitic Branch. The Hamitic cradle-land is generally agreed to be Asiatic, but there is no doubt that the Hamites and Semites must be regarded as modifications of an original stock. The persistence of common cultural traits and linguistic affinities point to the fact that their differentiation did not take place so long ago.[36]

Sergi says that the cradle of dispersement of the Mediterranean peoples (which included the Berbers) was more probably Africa and not the basin of the Mediterranean for the original stock. Many of the Hamitic peoples still preserve their ancient language in a more or less altered form; among these may be included the Berbers of every type and region.[37]

Schmidt thinks that the fair-skinned Hamites must be considered as a typical and genuine African race.[38]

Haddon says that taking North Africa as a whole there seems little doubt that the substratum of the population is allied to the Hamite. This is overlaid by a stratum of leucoderma Mediterranean.[39]

In the larger sense "Hamite" may be applied to the Mediterranean white race on both sides of the Mediterranean. In the narrower sense the name applies to the African division of that race, separated from the European by the disappearance of the land-bridges across the western Mediterranean.[40]

Ripley considers that the African Berbers belong by rights to the Europeon races.[41] In describing their physical traits he calls attention to the fact that most of them have long, narrow faces, although the broad-faced disharmonic Cro-Magnon type is quite

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[35] From *Semitic and Hametic Origins*, by George Aaron Barton, by permission University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 14-16 (Comp. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. I, pp. 28-31).

[36] Seligman, C. G., *Races of Africa*, pp. 97-98.

[37] Sergi, G., *The Mediterranean Race*, pp. 39-41.

[38] Schmidt, M., *The Primitive Races of Mankind*, p. 289.

[39] Haddon, A. C., *The Races of Man*, p. 35.

[40] Worrell, W. H., *A Study of Races in the Ancient Near East*, p. 80.

[41] Ripley, W. Z., *The Races of Europe*, p. 47.

generally represented. Upon the soft and wavy-haired European stock has surely been grafted a Negro cross. By this characteristic alone may some Berbers be distinguished from Europeans, for the blackness of their hair and eyes is scarcely less accentuated than that of the Spanish and Southern Italians. While local variations of type are common there can be no doubt of the unity and purity of the whole group. An additional token of ethnic similarity among these people is that beards among the men are rare, and that the "bodily habit" is very seldom heavy. The slender and agile frame may be regarded as a distinctively Mediterranean trait.[42]

Pruner-Bey believes that the African Berber is the nearest relative of the Egyptian; in every respect an intermediate form between the Semite and the African of the South.[43]

Seligman gives the three physical types found among the Berbers of North Africa as follows:

> (a) Medium or often short dolichocephals, with an average stature of about 65 inches, and an average cephalic index of 72-73. The occiput is commonly projecting, often forming a distinct bulge so that the head when viewed from above is distinctly pentagonal; the face tends to be short and broad, with a low facial index, the cheek-bones well developed, the nose mesorrhine, the chin often prominent and often well-bearded, the lips full; the long bones heavily built, with the insertions of the chief muscles especially well marked; the skin is swarthy, the eyes dark. This type is found in the mountains of Central Tunisia, in Algeria in the Province of Constantine, in the neighborhood of Algiers, and in the far south generally, where it tends to exhibit negroid characters.
>
> (b) Tall dolichocephals, with a stature of about 67 inches; and an average cephalic index of 74-75; the outline of the skull seen from above is generally oval, the supra-orbital ridges strongly marked; the face is long, tending to oval, nose long and narrow, with chin square and rather scant beard. This type predominates in Central Tunisia, extending thence into Algeria, where except east of the Kabyle country it is for the most part absent from the coastal zone, while in the Aures Mountains, though the high stature is maintained, there is a tendency to brach-

[42] Ripley, op. cit., p. 278.
[43] Sergi, op. cit., p. 66.

ycephaly generally attributed to an admixture with the round-headed stock.

(c) Short to medium brachycephals, with a stature rather under 65 inches; degree of brachycephaly low, but the group includes a few hyperbrachycephalic individuals with indices between 85 and 90. The face is broad and short, the forehead round, nose short and rather broad with an index of 70-72. This is the type found in Tripoli, in the Island of Jerba, and on the mainland opposite, as well as the littoral in the neighborhood of Bu Ajilat. In Algeria it is especially among the Kabyle and in the far south among the Beni M'zab, of whom many have a particularly white skin.[44]

The Berber tribes of Algeria and Tunisia represent the dominant population of the whole region, dating back to prehistoric times. As a people they are of medium or moderately tall stature, resembling the Spanish or Italians in skin color and also in hair and eyes.[45]

One problem that has concerned the anthropologists in their study of the Berber people is the blond element found among them. In some places it is as high as ten or twelve percent.[46] Seligman says that the lightest skinned Berbers are those of the tallest stature and with the cephalic index of the Nordic. He believes that the source of this strain is from the Nordics. When the Nordics entered North Africa is unknown but Seligman feels there is proof that it was at a relatively remote time by the occurrence in an Egyptian tomb of the New Empire of a painting of light-skinned, green-eyed, light-haired Libyans.[47]

Sergi, after an examination of many theories by different authorities attempting to explain the presence of blonds in North Africa, comes to the conclusion that they are of Libyan stock. Since the greatest number of blonds are found among the Berbers of Morocco in the high Atlas (600-12,000 ft.) Sergi contends that it may be concluded that this same Libyan stock which has been in North Africa from time immemorial underwent diverse influences in external conditions of climate and soil

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[44] From *Races of Africa*, by C. G. Seligman, Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., publishers, pp. 131-132.

[45] Dixon, R. B., *The Racial History of Man*, p. 200.

[46] Dixon, op. cit., p. 200.

[47] Seligman, op. cit., pp. 133-134.

which caused variations in external physical character. He believes that if the fundamental internal characters of the blond and brunet Libyans are the same, then the external differences in color of hair, skin, and eyes, are due to the influence of altitude. This would make the center of formation of the blond element in North Africa in the Atlas valleys, especially Morocco. From this center he thinks they were diffused both in ancient and succeeding times, into the neighboring countries as far as the sea in Algeria and Tunisia.[48]

Berber dialects are spoken throughout North Africa. These dialects are classified by the philologists in the same group with the Coptic, belonging to the Hamitic family.[49] The Berber language was spoken and is still spoken from Tetouan (from the Berber *Tit't'aouin,* "the eyes or the source") to the borders of Egypt and from Algiers to Senegal. Wherever it is no longer used, characteristic traces remain in the names of the localities.[50]

The Berber tribes usually employ the patronymic *Aït* while the Arab tribes employ *Ibn, Ben* or *Beni.* However, owing to Arab influence some Berber tribes use the Arab terminology but tribes untouched or little touched by the Arab influence designate their tribes by *Aït.*

Among the various Berber groups found in North Africa today is one known as the *Kabyle.* The purest Berber types are found among the Kabyles. It is especially with this group that this study is concerned.[51]

The term *Kabylia* is of comparatively recent origin, seemingly introduced as a geographical name by European scholars since the sixteenth century. It is not mentioned by the Arab historians or geographers.[52]

The word *Kabyle* is taken from the Arabic *kabail,* plural of *kabila* which means "tribe." Some Arab writers use it as a synonym for Berbers. "This is found as early as the author of the Kirtas who several times, in detailing the contingents of

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[48] Sergi, op. cit., pp. 59-75.

[49] Gautier, op. cit., p. 35.

[50] Hanoteau, A., *Essai de Grammaire Kabyle,* pp. viii-ix.

[51] Seligman, op. cit., p. 137; Haddon, op. cit., p. 36; Lissauer, A., *Kabyles of North Africa,* Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1911, p. 528 (Translated by permission from the German: Archäologische und anthropologische Studien ueber die Kabylen. Von A. Lissauer, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 40, part 4, 1908, Berlin, 1908, pp. 501-529).

[52] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. 2, p. 596b.

troops in the Marinid armies, carefully distinguishes the Kabail from the Arabs." [53]

DeSlane uses the spelling *Cabile* instead of Kabyle. He says that during the four centuries which followed the conquest of North Africa by the Moslems, all the nomads belonged to the Berber race, so, in the historic and geographic works which treat this period, the word *Cabila* means Berber tribe.[54]

Casserly explains that these people gained the name of *Kabaïl*, plural of *Kabyl* from the Arabs because the word signifies "He who accepts," and he claims it was given the Kabyles because they had accepted the religion of the Prophet.[55] This is an altogether erroneous conception and cannot be accepted.

Lissauer says that, according to the genealogical legends of the Berani, a Berber tribe of fair complexion was called in antiquity *Barbari*. However, they designated themselves as *Kabyles* after the native word *Kabila* which means "a union of several *Gurbi* (small huts) on one point." [56] This explanation is also erroneous.

The term *Kabyle*, meaning "tribes" is most appropriate. The Berbers have always been divided into many tribes. Even the Kabyles today are subdivided into many. A fine résumé of all these tribes, their location, population, and status is fully given in the *Répertoire Alphabétique des Tribus & Douars de L'Algérie*, by F. Accardo.

The Arabs called the Berbers by the term Kabyle who are found on the heights of the Atlas Mountains in Morocco and known as the *Rifs*, those in the Djurdjura Mountains of Algeria where they are known as *Kabyles*, and in the Aures Mountains where they are called *Chaouïa*, and in Tunisia where they are known as the *Enfida*.

Lissauer sums up the problems of anthropology among the Kabyles as follows:

(a) Whence came the blond Kabyles?

(b) Whence came the white Kabyles with black hair and brown eyes?

(c) Who were the autochthons?

(d) Whence comes the custom of the megalithic tomb structures in North Africa?

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[53] Idem.

[54] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 494-495.

[55] Casserly, G., *Algeria Today*, p. 120.

[56] Lissauer, op. cit., p. 527.

He has weighed the evidence of all the theories of the leading anthropologists on these questions. Some of this material has already been discussed under the general topic of the Berbers. Since this study is especially concerned with the Kabyles, the conclusions of Lissauer to the questions above are given.

> (a) Ancestors of the present blonds among the Kabyles must have at some time emigrated from Northern Europe into North Africa. This would account for the blonds in the high places where they found a climate similar to their own. It must be assumed that already in prehistoric time a considerable host of blond North Europeans entered it—that a kind of migration took place, similar to the migration of nations in later times.
>
> (b) This question is more difficult to answer. All that can be said with certainty is that the Kabyles are neither Negroes nor Hamites. Kabyles are the only white race speaking a Hamitic language; it results that they adopted the Hamitic language on North African soil and that they were there not autochthonous but immigrants and for anthropological reasons as well as on account of their resemblance to the Spaniards, they probably immigrated from the Iberian Peninsula. It may be further concluded that in North Africa they found an Hamitic population which they drove away but adopted its language without amalgamating with it.
>
> (c) The autochthons were probably Hamites, a people of brown skin. This is made probable by the language.
>
> (d) It is improbable that the dolmens were carried to North Africa by the blonds of North Africa because none are found on the highest points of the Atlas, the Rif, the Djurdjura, the Aures, where the blond Kabyles are most numerous and purest.[57]

In holding that the blond element among the Kabyles is from Northern Europe, Lissauer is in agreement with Seligman but disagrees with Sergi.

On the second point of view there is wider divergence of opinion. It has already been pointed out that various anthropologists hold that the Kabyles are Berbers, that the Berbers are Hamites and that these Hamites belonged to the white race.[58]

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[57] Lissauer, op. cit., pp. 534-537.

[58] Barton, op. cit., p. 14.

This white race is thought to have developed in North Africa out of the Mediterranean race, after the last glacial epoch.[59]

Weighing the small amount of evidence that we have as yet, it would seem that the Berbers, of Hamitic origin, were the indigenous people of North Africa. Beyond this nothing can be said with certainty until more evidence is found. From this group have come the Kabyles who live in the Djurdjura mountains where they are known as the *Zouaoua*. These people are usually spoken of simply as the Kabyles.

The Kabyles found in the Djurdjura mountains vary considerably in stature. Some of the men are tall and thin, while more of them are of medium or even short stature. Prengrueber gives the following results of measurements of height among 294 Kabyles:

150 centimeters	minimum
161–163 centimeters	28.9%
164–170 centimeters	46.6%
185 centimeters	maximum
171–175 centimeters	24.5% [60]

Some blonds are found among them but not as frequently as in Morocco. Most of them have dark brown or black hair, though there are occasionally some with red hair. The eyes are usually brown. Lissauer gives the following figures for hair and eyes:

Dark brown eyes	41.3%
Light brown eyes	47.3%
Deep black hair	59.7%
Black-brown hair	14.5% [61]

The men always keep their hair short, many of them having their heads shaved in the summer. Bald-headed men are infrequent. The hair is more often wavy than straight and in some instances inclined to be kinky. The women always wear their hair long, even a child's hair is never cut.

The heads are usually of the dolichocephalic type. In measurements made by Prengrueber the following indices of 182 measurements were given:

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[59] Barton, op. cit., p. 9.
[60] Lissauer, op. cit., p. 530.
[61] Idem.

36.4% were dolichocephalic up to 75
35.8% were subdolichocephalic up to 77.7
15.7% were mesaticephalic up to 80
8.2% were subbrachycephalic up to 83.3
2.7% were brachycephalic above 83.3 [62]

The children and young women are beautiful with their flashing eyes, lovely skin and usually slender, lithe figures. The hard life of the Kabyle woman causes her to age very early, and often to lose much of her beauty later in life.

Their feet are beautifully arched, probably due to the fact that most of them seldom wear shoes. The nose is usually straight, although the curved nose, a reminder of Jewish influence is found among them. The skin is white on all unexposed parts of the body while the exposed parts are browned by the sun.

The names given to the various Berber groups, Kabyles, Chaouïa, Chelouh, Touareg, Beni M'Zab, do not belong to the language of these groups. Some of them, as for instance the Kabyles, have adopted these names and forgotten their national name. Wherever the Berber populations have not been under Arab influence they have conserved names belonging to their idiom. In Morocco they are called *Imazir'en,* plural of *Amazir',* among the Touaregs they are called *Imajer'en* or *Imajar'en,* plural of *Amajer',* in the north *Imouchar',* plural of *Amacher'.* It is readily seen that these names are all variants of the same name. The Berbers, according to their locality substitute one for another the sounds Z, J, and Ch.[63]

Hanoteau thinks that if the real name were given to these Berbers they would be called the *Tamazir't* or *Tamacher't* (feminine for *Amazir'*) race and the same name would be given to their language.[64]

A brief sentence taken from several of these dialects will show how related they are. The sentence used is in French since this is the language through which these dialects are learned.

Il (l'homme) la prit et continua son chemin.
Kabyle Zouaoua .....Iour' ithent irouh'.[65]
Kabyle Illoulen .....Iour' ithent irouh'.[66]

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[62] Lissauer, op. cit., pp. 530-531.
[63] Hanoteau, A., *Essai de Grammaire Kabyle,* p. ix.
[64] Ibid, p. x.
[65] Ibid, p. 353.
[66] Ibid, p. 354.

Kabyle Beni Menaçer . . . Iour'a hent ariaz enni irouh'.[67]
Beni Mzab . . . . . Iour'i tent ourdjaz izoua.[68]
Tamacher't (Touareg) . . Iour'a tenet ales igla.[69]
Temazir't (Rif) . . . . . Ichsi thent ouriaz irouh'.[70]
Chaouia . . . . . Iour'i then ourgaz irouh'.[71]

The Kabyles speaking the Zouaoua dialect are those who inhabit the Djurdjura Mountains in what is called Great Kabylia and Little Kabylia. The region in which these Kabyles are found is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean Sea; the western boundary follows the Isser river from the ruins of the bridge Ben Hini to the mouth of the river; the southern boundary follows the Djurdjura Mountains and the western extension of this chain to the Isser; while the eastern boundary is marked by the eastern extension of the Djurdjura following the line of the crests which pass by the ravines called *Tizi n-Tirourda* (the word *tizi* in Kabyle signifies a depression of land between two mountains).[72]

The two parts of Kabylia are divided by the Sahel river. The lower course of the Sahel is called the Soummam. The district centering around Fort National is Great Kabylia and that around Bougie is Little Kabylia.

Some of the mountains in the Djurdjura are very high, the Lalla Khadija being about 7,500 feet. The highest point is the Col (pass) de Tirourda which is more than 8,600 feet. Over this it is possible to pass from Great Kabylia to Little Kabylia at certain times of the year. During the winter this pass is blocked by snow. There are narrow valleys and high peaks in Great Kabylia. The mountains are lower in Little Kabylia.

The heights are not habitable, but the Kabyles have built their villages on the lower habitable hilltops and cultivate the surrounding land. On the higher mountains the climate is very pleasant in summer but in the valleys it is very hot. Even in this mountain area there are extremes of heat and cold. In some parts cultivation is possible throughout the year. In other parts the snow makes cultivation impossible in the winter.

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[67] Ibid, p. 356.
[68] Ibid, p. 358.
[69] Ibid, p. 359.
[70] Ibid, p. 361.
[71] Ibid, p. 366.
[72] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 3.

The seasons may be roughly divided into two—the hot, dry season from May to October, and the cold, rainy season from November to April. In the winter when the rains are heaviest, usually from December to March, torrents of water pour down over the mountains and cause much devastation. The same thing happens when the snows melt on the high mountains. As the result of these torrents pouring down the mountains much erosion has taken place in Kabylia. The rivers Isser, Sebaou, Soummam, and Wad Sahel, are not navigable. The mountain streams pour into these rivers causing them to be swollen at times while at other times they are almost dry river beds.

The thermometer sometimes registers as low as fourteen degrees Fahrenheit in winter and as high as one hundred four degrees in summer when the sirocco is blowing.[73] These winds come from the Sahara, blowing from the south, southeast and southwest. These are excessively hot winds which destroy vegetation and bring distress to animal life. A sirocco may occur at any time of the year. Winds coming from the north and east are often very strong. Frequently the moisture they bring is not sufficient for rain but causes heavy fog.

In some parts of Kabylia there is an abundance of water while in others the lack of water causes cultivation to be restricted in the summer. The amount of rainfall varies from 24 to 32 inches in the coastal ranges to 60 inches on the high peaks of the Djurdjura.[74]

Luxuriant forests are found in some sections of the mountains. These are largely cork and pine trees. Semple says that this was the region of the famous *Atlantos silva* or forests known to the Romans as the citrus. This is quite distinct from the citrus Medica or citron. It is a tree related to the cypress and has a beautifully variegated wood. Some commentators identify this citrus with the cedrus or cedar tree of the Atlas Mountains.[75]

The Berbers have been a subject people during the many invasions of North Africa. In order to see what influences have been brought to bear upon these people, it is well to enumerate the various invasions of North Africa.

[73] Knox, A., *The Climate of the Continent of Africa*, p. 44.
[74] Semple, E. C., *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region*, p. 283.
[75] Idem.

Even before historic time there were no doubt contacts between the inhabitants of the Barbary coast and the peoples occupying the islands and the coast along the Aegean Sea during the bronze age, 3000-2000 B. C.[76]

After giving the various legends of Greeks and others who were supposed to have migrated to North Africa in prehistoric times, Gsell concludes that the physical resemblances, and the community of origin of the languages imply important migrations although it is impossible to say in which directions or in what manner these movements of populations were accomplished. He holds that industries, types of constructions, domestic animals and beliefs could have been diffused without violent conquest and by a small number of individuals.[77]

The first historic invasion of North Africa was that of the Phoenicians. Tradition fixes the date of the founding of Carthage by them about 845 or 850 B. C. but the true date may have been earlier.[78]

There was great internal strife in Syria during the reign of Pygmalion. After her husband had been killed by Pygmalion, Dido (or Elissa), daughter of King Metten fled to the coast of Africa where she founded Carthage on the site of an earlier trading station called Cambe or Caccabe.[79]

Ithobal (or Ethbaal) who ruled over Phoenicia 887-855 B.C. continued the colonial expansion begun by Hiram I. Botrys north of Byblus and Aoza in North Africa are said to have been founded by him.[80] However, from an extremely remote period Phoenician sailors visited the North African coast and had commercial relations with the Libyan tribes inhabiting the district which forms the modern Tunis. As early as the 16th century B. C. the Sidons already had trading posts on the coast, one of them being Cambe or Caccabe[81] which was mentioned above.

Little is known of the history of Carthage before the sixth century B. C. By this time the city was unquestionably an im-

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[76] Gsell, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 347.

[77] Gsell, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 357.

[78] Mattingly, H., *Outlines of Ancient History*, p. 27; Gsell, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 397.

[79] *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. III, p. 374.

[80] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Vol. XXI, p. 451b.

[81] Ibid, Vol. V, p. 428a.

portant capital with a large sphere of influence. In other words Carthage was mistress of an empire. Phoenicians of Carthaginian colonies depended on her. The old Phoenician colonies were forced to recognize the supremacy of Carthage. Both these old colonies founded by the Phoenicians and the new ones established by the Carthaginians themselves in North Africa were along the coast. The term Libyan-Phoenician was used to designate in a general way the colonies founded by the Phoenicians and Carthaginians in Africa.[82]

For the most part the Berbers detested the Punic domination. Not so much perhaps because of imposed military service as for heavy taxes levied upon them. The Libyans revolted several times. They were so cruelly punished for this that there developed, on their part, a hatred for the Phoenicians which was transmitted from generation to generation. Outside of Punic territory the Numidians were grouped into tribes, in states, in which the chiefs were qualified as princes and kings. Some of these chiefs were allies of Carthage. Those in the neighborhood of Punic territory were held in subjection.[83]

Whenever there was a weakening of Carthaginian power the Berber tribes would revolt and take part with the enemies of Carthage. The Carthaginian troops had been mainly recruited from among the Berbers. Occasionally Carthage produced a leader like Hannibal who could win the confidence of the Berber soldiers. However the Carthaginians were never able to extend their rule very far inland and only held the places they occupied.[84]

The earliest historical connection between Aryan Europe and Africa was brought about by the Greeks, commencing about 600 B. C. They settled in the country of Kurene (Cyrene), the modern province of Barka. Around Kurene were grouped four other cities—Barke, Teuxeira, Euesperides, and Apollonia. In spite of the civil wars of the colonists and the intermittent attacks of the Berbers, this colony continued until it was brought under the control of Rome about 100 B. C.[85]

The difficulties between the Greeks and the Carthaginians came to a head in 550 B. C. when the latter conquered almost

[82] Gsell, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 287-288.
[83] Ibid, pp. 305-308.
[84] Johnston, Sir H., *The Colonization of Africa*, p. 38.
[85] Ibid, p. 42.

all of Sicily and expelled the Greeks. For the next two hundred years the history of these two peoples is one of conquest and defeat with alternating success. Then Agathocles crossed to Africa and besieged Carthage which was handicapped by the conspiracy of Bomilcar. His army had to be taken from Africa after three years (Aug. 310–Oct. 307 B. C.) by his general Eumarcus.[86]

The story of the Greeks on the shores of Africa seems to have been of short duration. But Greek authors speak of early migrations to the land of the Libyans. Herodotus described at length the Libyans and Libya. He says that the Libyans live in the north and the Ethiopians in the south and that they are the native inhabitants of Libya but the Phoenicians and Greeks are later settlers.[87]

Between the middle of the 12th century B. C. and the destruction of Carthage in 146 B. C. the Phoenician influence in Africa and in Maghreb lasted a thousand years. This is twice as long as the duration of the Roman influence.[88]

Broughton quotes from Pomponius Mela a passage which shows the influence of the Punic civilization prior to the Roman invasion upon the peoples of North Africa.

> Thus the coast regions are inhabited by cultivators whose customs do not differ greatly from our own except that certain of the peoples differ in language and in cult. For they keep their ancestral gods and worship them in the ancestral manner. The people who border upon them have no towns to be sure, but have dwellings which they call mapalia. Their way of living is rough and they lack comforts. Their chiefs clothe themselves with saga but the common people with the skins of wild beasts and of cattle. They sleep and take their meals upon the ground. Their vessels are made of wood and bark. Their drink is milk and the juice of berries, and their food mostly the flesh of wild beasts since they spare as far as possible the herds in which their only wealth consists. The people farther in the interior are still less civilized and wander about following their herds, moving themselves and their tents as their herds follow their pasture; where the day ends these spend the night. They are scattered everywhere without order

[86] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Vol. V, p. 428.
[87] *Herodotus*, Book IV: 197.
[88] Gautier, op. cit., p. 124.

and take no common counsel. Since individual men have several wives at once children are numerous and agnate relations are never few.[89]

The rival of Carthage which finally brought about her downfall was Rome. But it was not until the third Punic war which lasted three years that the city fell in 146 B. C.[90] Rome was assisted in her destruction of Carthage by Numidian and Mauretanian kings, who, in their desire to establish complete home rule in North Africa were anxious to destroy the Carthaginian power.[91] The most important of these kings was Massinissa.

Rome continued to press her claims upon other parts of Africa, beginning with the Numidian kings. The region equivalent to Tunisia and western Tripoli became the Roman province of Africa, between 104 and 50 B. C. Algeria was annexed in 46 B. C. and Morocco in 42 A. D. The old Greek colonies in Cyrenaica became a Roman province in 96 B. C. and Egypt in 30 B. C. Thus by the first century of the Christian era, the whole coast belt of North Africa was under Roman domination.[92]

In 122 B. C. Scipio Aemilianus decided to rebuild Carthage but the effort was not successful. Later Julius Cæsar sent poor citizens demanding land to rebuild the city. Under Augustus more colonists went to the city and in 14-13 B. C. the administration was taken there.[93]

From the time Rome invaded North Africa in 146 B. C. until the coming of the Vandals, the Romans were constantly at war with the Berbers. The most prosperous and brilliant period of Roman rule was from 50-297 A. D. From 50-530 A. D. Latin replaced Punic as the tongue most commonly spoken in the Roman province and even along the coast of Algeria and Morocco.[94]

From the time of Septimius Severus (193-211 A. D.) Roman civilization developed in the cities and on the plains. Some of the Berbers escaped this by fleeing to the mountains, in the

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[89] From *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*, by T. R. S. Broughton, by permission of the author and the Johns Hopkins Press, p. 11.

[90] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Vol. V, p. 429b.

[91] Johnston, op. cit., p. 46.

[92] Ibid, p. 47.

[93] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. V, p. 430.

[94] Johnston, op. cit., p. 50.

Aures, in Kabylia, in the Rif and other regions where their customs and their dialects were preserved.

Safe upon the heights the people of the arid sections aided by legions of Romans fell upon the rich pastures and the cities when the power of the conquerors fell into decadence. The kings of the mountains erected refuges like the old chateau forts of the Middle Ages to receive their subjects who recognized their authority and paid them a rent. These are without doubt the ancestors of the Seigneurs of the Great Atlas of Morocco.[95]

When the rule of Rome replaced that of Carthage in North Africa it met stubborn resistance on the part of the indigenous people. Not only did they oppose the loss of territory but they also were averse to Roman progress and civilization.[96]

The Romans were individualists with no love of rigid uniformity and they respected the differing traditions in various parts of their empire. They made no attempt to impose their own institutions but allowed their subjects to worship their own gods, to speak their own languages and in some measure to preserve their local loyalties and political divisions.[97]

Africa was never completely latinized. The Roman imprint was found very marked in the east around Carthage. But in the west there were masses of Berbers who were under military subjection and the political administration of Rome for several centuries but never became truly Latin. These people were faithful to their old language and loyal to their own traditions.[98]

A trip through North Africa where the ruins of many of the Roman cities are found testifies today to the power and influence of Rome in North Africa. Some of the most important of these are Carthage, Bizerte, (Hippo Diarr Sytus), Bone (Hippo Regius), Timgad (Thanugadi), Djemila (Cuicul) and Bougie (Saldae). It is well to note that most of these cities and many others that could be mentioned are not found in Kabylia. Roman civilization seems to have stopped at the foot of the mountains.

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[95] Soualah Mohammed, *La Société Indigène de L'Afrique du Nord*, Premiere Partie, p. 24.

[96] Le Clerq, H., *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétiénne et de Liturgie*, Vol. I, p. 575.

[97] Stevenson, G. H., *Roman Provincial Administration Till the Age of the Antonines*, pp. 1-2.

[98] Gautier, E. F., *Genséric Roi des Vandals*, p. 121.

In May 429 Genseric crossed from Spain into North Africa with an army of Vandals and in June 430 the seige of Bone began against Boniface. By the end of 431 Genseric was master of all North Africa except Cirta and Carthage. Carthage was protected not by Roman reenforcements but by Byzantine. A peace treaty was signed Feb. 11, 435, which ended Roman domination in Africa and which was the beginning of Vandal rule under Genseric. The Donatists were the allies of Genseric.

At the entrance of the Vandals into North Africa they had not more than 200,000 men. They did not mix with the Africans and at the end of a century, the kingdom founded by Genseric was destroyed soon after his death in 477 A. D.

June 22, 533 the Byzantines under the command of Belisarius sailed from Constantinople for Africa. He was hailed in Africa as were the Vandals before him for he was looked upon by the native population as the deliverer from foreign despotism. Within three months after his arrival in Africa, Belisarius succeeded in establishing Byzantine authority there. But the Berbers, always averse to a foreign yoke, and with their unconquerable love of liberty, rose up under Iabdas and Koutsina. They had acted similarly at Carthage with Massinissa as their leader and under Rome with Tacfarinas and Jugurtha as leaders. The Greek Emperors maintained for some one hundred years a nominal empire which kept growing smaller until little more than Carthage remained. They left no lasting imprint and they were finally wiped out by the Arab invasion.[99]

The Moslem Arabs during the height of power of the Umayyads[100] began their conquest of North Africa. This was inaugurated by Musa ibn Nusayr and his lieutenants. The subjugation of Egypt began in 640 A. D. and soon after the raids were carried into Ifriqiyah. A real conquest of this territory did not take place until the foundation of the Al-Qayrawan in 670 A. D. It was carried out by Mu'awiyah against the Berber tribes with Al-Qayrawan as the base of operations. Although

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[99] Grant, C. F., *Studies in North Africa*, pp. 200-204.

[100] The Umayyads (or Umaiyads), the dynasty of the caliphs from 41-132 A. H. = 66-750 A. D. takes its name from the fact that its founder, Mu'āwiyn b. Abī Sufyān, was the representative of the principal branch of the Banu Umaiya. It was during this period that the Arabs attempted to assert their power in the world as a nation. (G. Levi Della Vida, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 4, p. 1004.)

tradition says that 'Uqbah advanced to the waves of the Atlantic the Arab hold was so precarious on Ifriqiyah that upon the death of 'Uqbah his successor had to evacuate the territory.

Byzantine authority and Berber resistance were finally conquered under the governorship of Hassan ibn-al-Nu'man al-Ghassani (693-699 A. D.). The Berbers in their final stand were led by a prophetess—La Kahena. The story is told how the famous heroine La Kahena had trees cut everywhere from Tripoli to Tangiers, forming continuous umbrage. This is certainly an exaggeration. On the other hand, La Kahena wished to take away the resources from the Arab invaders and to keep them from plundering.[101] This woman had a mysterious influence over her followers. She was finally defeated by treachery and killed near a well which still bears her name—Bir-al-Kahinah. According to Ibn Khaldoun La Kahena belonged to a tribe of Berbers professing Judaism.[102] The Jews had settled in North Africa both before the time of the Romans and during that epoch.[103]

The boundaries were extended under the leadership of Musa ibn-Musayr as far as Tangiers. This touched the Berber people who before this, unless living along the coast, had not been much affected by Roman civilization.[104]

By the beginning of the eighth century Arabian authority was acknowledged all through central Maghreb. The Jewish and Christian Berbers became Moslem—not so much by conviction as by the promise of booty made to them by Arabian generals. In the second half of the eighth century, exasperated by the exactions of the governors, they eagerly adopted the Kharidjite doctrines.[105] The Berbers found these doctrines appealed to their democratic instincts and their desire for vengeance. This insurrection lasted until the close of the eighth century and spread all over Maghreb.

The Caliph Harun al-Rashid entrusted the government of

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[101] Gsell, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 154ff.

[102] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 208.

[103] Gsell, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 281.

[104] Hitti, P. K., *History of the Arabs*, pp. 213-214.

[105] The Kharidjites were the earliest Muslim sect. This sect grew by the accession of the fanatical and turbulent elements, attracted by the principle of equality of races which the Kharidjites proclaimed. (Levi, G. Della Vida, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, p. 904ff.)

Africa to the Aghlabides[106] but the Berbers remained in power in central and western Maghreb. The Aghlabides disappeared in the tenth century, vanquished by the Fatimids[107] who were victorious because of the Kitama Berbers. The Fatimids conquered all of Maghreb.

The caliphs living in Cairo were too far away to keep hold of affairs. The governors in Maghreb made themselves independent of the Fatimids. Internal struggles continued until the beginning of the eleventh century, Algeria being divided among the Berber sovereigns.

At this time there was discord between the Ziride sultans of Ifrikiya and the Fatimids of Cairo which brought on the Hilālian[108] invasion. After devastating Ifrikiya, the Arabian troops penetrated Maghreb. They were unable to capture the mountain massifs and the towns of the Tell from the Berbers. Wherever they went they destroyed agriculture and substituted nomadic life for sedentary. The Berbers, at least part of them, took refuge in the mountain massifs (Kabylia, Aures) where they have succeeded in preserving their language and customs down to the present day.

The invasion ceased at the close of the twelfth century but the populations continued migratory movements until the fourteenth century. The next Maghreb invaders came from the west, the Almoravides,[109] who conquered as far east as Algiers

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[106] Aghalabides, a dynasty which ruled over Ifrikiya during the whole of the 9th century A. D., founded by Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab at Tamīmī. (G. Demombynes, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. I, p. 181.)

[107] The Fatimid movement originated among the Ismā'ilis. They gained their footing among the Kitama Berbers through missionary work. Their name refers to their descent which they claimed from 'Ali Fātima. There is doubt as to the justice of this claim. (E Graefe, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. 2, p. 88.)

[108] Hilāl, an Arab tribe belonging to the Ma'addi (Ismā'īlī) group. At the instigation of the Fātimid caliph al-Mustansir they migrated to North Africa (444 A. H. = 1052 A. D.). (J. Schleifer, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. 2, p. 306.)

[109] The Almoravids is the name of a Muslim dynasty. The word has been derived from the Arabic al-Murābitum, a sort of warrior-monk inhabiting a ribat or convent more or less fortified. Under the name of the Almoravides we understand the royal dynasty founded by several branches of the large Sahara tribe of the Sanhādja, which, grouped under the authority of a religious leader, invaded and conquered the Maghreb in the middle of the eleventh century. (A. Bel, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. 1, p. 318.)

but did not succeed in holding the territory. Under 'Abd-al-Mu'min the Almohades[110] captured Algiers and Bougie in 1152 A. D., put to flight the Hilālians and ruled over the whole of Barbary from the Atlantic to the Bay of Gahes.

The peace was further disturbed by the Banu Ghaniya who by alliance were descended from the Almoravides. The eldest one, 'Ali, conquered all the country between Bougie and Miliana (1184-1186). His brother succeeded him and with the help of Hilālian bands plundered the Maghreb until 1236. During this same period the Almohades had difficulties and Abu Zakariya b. Hafs, governor of Ifrikiya, declared himself independent at Tunis (1236-1237), and founded the dynasty of the Hafsides. During all the fourteenth century the three dynasties, Hafsides, Marinides, and Zaiyanids warred among themselves without any one of them becoming supreme in Maghreb.[111]

Under the authority of Gonzales Ximenes de Disneras, Grand Inquisitor, Spanish troops were sent to North Africa in 1505. Ximenes had dreamed of a Christian and Spanish Empire in North Africa. Oct. 23, 1505, Mers-el-Kebir was captured. In 1509, Ximenes himself commanded the expedition which took Oran on May 18th. Later Pedro Navarro seized Bougie.[112] Algiers was not seized but was kept in submission by a fortress on the Penôn or Rock off the coast. Tenes and Dellys and Tlemcen were also placed in subjection and all paid tribute to Spain.[113]

Aroudj (known also as Baba Aroudj Barbarossa) assisted in 1512 in trying to turn the Spaniards out of Bougie. This effort failed. In 1514 he tried again and again failed. At Djidjelli the people elected him their Sultan. Salim invited Aroudj to assist him in capturing the Penôn from the Spaniards. He advanced with his armies upon Algiers and took the city but did not attempt to take the rock. The Berbers, always willing to cast their lot against the enemy, rallied to Aroudj

[110] The Almohades is the name of a Muslim dynasty. The founding of the Almohade empire in Africa, generally traced back to 515 A. H. (1121 A. D)—at which date the branches of the great Berber tribe of the Masmūda swore the oath of loyalty to Ibn Tūmart—is the result of the religious movement excited in the Maghrebs by Ibn Tūmart. (A. Bel, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, p. 314.)

[111] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 264-266.

[112] Grant, op. cit., p. 269ff.

[113] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 266b.

and with the help of the Berbers this Turk pushed west, seizing Tenes. His brother Kheir-ed-Din was left in charge of Algiers. Next Aroudj was asked to help in replacing the King Abou Zian on the throne of Tlemcen. In his brutal way he made himself master of this place. But in 1518 the Marquis of Comares, the Spanish Governor of Oran drove Aroudj out of Tlemcen and killed him at Salado.

Kheir-ed-Din in Algiers being more of a diplomat than his brother Aroudj, submitted to the Sultan of Turkey. Sultan Selim made him Pascha, and sent him soldiers so that he was able to capture the Penôn in 1529 A. D. Thus Algiers became the home and stronghold of the terrible Barbary corsairs. Varying fortunes met the Turks as they fought in divers places to dislodge the Spaniards.[114]

By the close of the sixteenth century the "Regency" of Algiers had reached the limits which the Turks maintained until 1830. The Turks did not exercise authority over the whole country but only over about one-sixth of the territory which became French Algieria. Some of the country belonged to independent populations, the Kabyles being among these.

The Algeria state underwent four periods of organization.

a. That of the beylerbeys (1518-1587). These rulers were representatives of the Ottoman Porte who at times exercised their functions personally and at other times had them done by governors or khalifas. Although they recognized the suzerainty of the Grand Seignior, they all dreamed of creating a kingdom of Barbary. They tried to accomplish this by neutralizing the power of the janizaries by relying on the troops which were recruited from the Kabyles (Swawa).

b. Because the beylerbeys gave such anxiety to the sultans at Stamboul, they appointed pashas to represent them. This period, known as the triennial years, lasted from 1587-1659. These officers had the thirst of acquisition so that piracy developed to a considerable extent during this period.

c. When a military revolution broke out in the middle of the seventeenth century the aghas came into power (1659-1671). But their reign was short and bloody because of rivalry between the janizaries and the ra'is. The aghas were all assassinated.

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[114] Grant, op. cit., pp. 271-275.

d. The final period (1671-1830) was ruled by the deys. The first three were elected by the corsairs, but the others were chosen by the military. During this period Ottoman supremacy declined. There was a steady growth of power among the Jews at this time. Leaders in this were Nephali Burnach and Joseph Bacri, "the king of the Jews." There were bloody riots in revolt against Jewish power, in 1805.[115]

Grant writes as follows regarding the Turks in North Africa:

> The position of the Turks in Africa was more akin to that of the Carthaginians than to that of the Romans; it was not a conquest and occupation of the country generally, but of the seaboard and of the country only so far as was necessary. The natives were profoundly leavened by the new comers, but not conquered nor seriously interfered with. Even in Algiers men are spoken of as natives, or Berbers, or Kabyles or Arabs but not as Turks. The business of the Turks was on the sea, not on the land. The Poeni (Phoenicians) were traders, the Turks were pirates; the business was different, but the scene was the same.[116]

From the twelfth century until the taking of the country by France in 1830, the history of North Africa is one of perpetual warfare, of the rise and fall of local dynasties with religious dissensions.[117] The Berbers were never able to present a united front against their invaders.

Turkish rule in North Africa was brought to an end by the French in 1830. The Dey of Algiers insulted the French Consul Deval in 1827. Charles X ordered a blockade of Algiers which was maintained for three years. Conciliatory measures being unsuccessful the minister Polignac organized an expedition against Algiers and the Dey capitulated July 5, 1830.

Before any action could be taken about this by the French government, the revolution of 1830 overthrew the Bourbons. Finally, July 22, 1834, this French possession in North Africa was organized. At first the French advanced slowly along the littoral, then penetrated farther into the interior. The following shows their line of march:

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[115] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 267ff.

[116] Grant, Cyril Fletcher, *Studies in North Africa*, by permission of E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, publishers, p. 275.

[117] Sloane, W. M., *Greater France in Africa*, p. 27.

1830—Algiers.

1830-1836—Bone, Oran, Mostaganem, Arzen.

1837—Constantine, penetration of the massif Aures.

1844—Biskra.

1841-1847—Crushing of the power of 'abd-al-Kadir and possession of the Tell and of the plateaux (Tlemcen, Miliana, Mascara, Médéa, Saïda, Boghar, Tiaret).

1849—Suppression of revolt led by Bū Ziyān and the capture of Zaatcha.

1844 and 1847—Campaigns in Kabylia which was still independent, conducted by Bugeaud.

1851-1854—Campaigns by St. Arnaud and Randon in Kabylia.

1852-1854—Cherif Muhammed b. 'Abd Allah and his Saharan tribes defeated. Laghouat captured and territory as far as Wargla.

1857—Kabyles of the Djurdjura defeated by Randon.

1859—Banū Snassen tribes in Morocco rebelled.

1864-1867—The revolt of the Ulād Sīdī Shaikh—southern part of Oran province.

1871—Serious insurrection in the two Kabylias led by the former agha of the Medjāna, Mokrānī and the marabouts Shaikh Hāddād and his son Sī 'Azīz, who called the Rahmānīya Khouan to arms. The Kabyles were punished by the loss of their municipal autonomy, the payment of a war indemnity, the sequestration of 1,120,000 acres which were destined for colonization.[118]

From the above we see that North Africa between 845 B. C. and 1830 A. D. underwent ten invasions: Phoenicians, Greeks, Jews, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arab, Spanish, Turk, and French. In each one of these that was of any consequence the Berbers are found to make common cause with the new invaders. What influences if any were left upon the Berber people by these invasions? Gsell says that during the historic period the Berber population has not been profoundly modified by any foreign elements.[119]

Vonderheyden calls attention to the fact that these Berber people had great vitality; many times subdued, after fierce

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[118] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, pp. 269-270.

[119] Gsell, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 277.

resistance to diverse conquerors, they knew how to maintain their language and customs.[120]

Yver points out that the Berber groups which were defeated and driven into the mountains,—where they were inaccessible to the invaders,—have preserved their language and customs. The Kabyles were one of these groups.[121]

Little Kabylia seems in some instances to have been even more resistant than Great Kabylia. Under the Moslem dynasty of the Aghlabides who governed North Africa 800-909 A. D. little Kabylia escaped their regime. A difficult region to penetrate it was not attacked by the Arabs who took care not to invade it.[122]

The Kabyles were the very last of the Berber tribes in Algeria to be conquered by the French. Throughout all the invasions prior to the French they seem to have maintained their independence. It is with this group of Berbers who so long withstood invaders that this study is especially concerned to determine what changes, if any, have taken place in these people across these turbulent centuries.

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[120] Vonderheyden, M., *La Berberie Orientale sous La Dynastie Des Benou 'Larab*—800-909, p. 2.

[121] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 271.

[122] Vonderheyden, op. cit., p. 47.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE KABYLES

IN order to understand the Kabyles it is necessary in the very beginning to note some characteristics which will be found to wield a powerful influence in all phases of Kabyle life and society.

The Kabyle is sturdy, independent, a lover of the soil, thrifty, hospitable. He can walk long distances over the mountains with seemingly little fatigue. He is proud, intelligent, shrewd, persistent, loyal. The passion for equality and independence seems too general and too deep rooted to be of recent date.[1]

Whether it be in the interests of the family, of the tribe, of the village, or only of the individual, there is constantly in evidence this spirit of independence and equality which is often manifested in group solidarity. This spirit pushed to excess, as it often is among the Kabyles, is very dangerous and leads to disaster. It arouses envy, jealousy, rivalry, antagonism, discord and even causes bloodshed.[2]

This spirit of independence, which is good when kept within reason, has been fatal among the masses of Kabyles where it has so often been pushed to excess. It is probably this characteristic, more than any other, which has kept the Berber people from ever forming a strong, united, national group. On the other hand, this spirit has made the Kabyle self-reliant and self-governing.[3]

The early historians of the Berbers take little account of this spirit of independence in recounting Berber history. This silence should not astonish us since the ancient historians, Roman and Byzantine, despised too much the barbarous people of North Africa to make inquiries into the spirit underlying their social and political structure. It was simpler and easier to attribute to treachery and unfaithfulness their incessant revolts than to search out the causes of these uprisings. The historians of the time of Ibn Khaldoun were so imbued with the aristocratic prejudices

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[1] Hanoteau, A. et Letourneux, A., *La Kabylie et Les Coutumes Kabyles*, Vol. II, p. 3.

[2] Ibid, p. 2.

[3] Randall-MacIver, D., and Wilkin, A., *Libyan Notes*, p. 7.

of their nation, that they did not worry themselves much except with the doings of the rulers.[4]

Probably one of the most important ways in which the Kabyles have made their solidarity felt is in the development of their village life. A village is made up of a certain number of *kharouba,* while each *kharouba* is composed of a certain number of families. The villages vary in size from a few score of inhabitants to several hundred, or even a thousand or more people. The villages have been built on the most inaccessible places in the mountains. The huts are huddled together as compactly as possible. This was no doubt done in early days as a protection against invasion. In some parts of Kabylia the villages are far apart, in other places they are very close together. It is possible to stand upon one elevation near Fort National and on a clear day count more than a hundred villages.

Kabylia is the most densely populated part of Algeria. The population, however, is very unevenly distributed. It averages some 250 to the square mile. The greatest density is in the vicinity of Fort National where the figures reach 530 to the square mile. This is about equal to the density of population in Holland.[5]

In the selection of sites for their villages, the Kabyles do not seem to have taken into consideration the question of water. In some vicinities there is plenty of water, but in others the women must go long distances to obtain it, often being compelled to carry their heavy water jars up hill, over the steep, rugged, donkey paths. In the building of their villages comfort was certainly not considered. In this respect the Kabyles seem to resemble the Hopi (a tribe of North American Indians in Arizona) whom Lowie describes, saying that they built their homes on steep ridges, overlooking the desert plain, because they were harassed by marauding nomads. Their women had to carry every drop of water up the heights, and the men travelled several miles to their cornfields; "Yet," continues Lowie, "from conservatism most of them continue this inconvenient arrangement even today when hostilities are no longer to be feared." [6]

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[4] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 4.

[5] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. II, p. 597b.

[6] From *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology,* by Robert H. Lowie, permission of Liveright Publishing Corporation, p. 103.

> An inborn love of independence, an instinct of the value of individuals joined to the conviction that individuals prosper only when united by bonds of sympathy and mutual assistance, have originated an infinite number of small democratic communities in which the will of the people is the sole governing body.[7]

These same traits of independence, solidarity, sympathy, and mutual assistance which are so prominent in the life of the village are also dominant in the life of the family. Probably because they have dominated family life, these prominent and strong traits made themselves felt in the village life.

The Kabyle family is a social unit in itself. Even when an individual is compelled by economic or social conditions to live for a time apart from his family, the ties uniting him to his parents remain strong and unbroken.[8]

The bonds of solidarity are further strengthened in the marriage customs and inheritance rights. Another evidence of it is seen in the responsibility of the other members of the family when a murder is committed. This takes its toll by *rek'ba* (blood-revenge). Hanoteau thinks that this solidarity of the family is the result of its need to protect itself against abuse and force; that it is the sign of a social state still in its infancy, where the authority and the laws are not strong enough to protect the people.[9]

But a study of the political system will reveal that these people were able to make authority and law respected. Although the solidarity of the family may have had its early roots in its need to protect itself against abuse and force it seems probable that the type of family maintained by the Kabyles has nourished this trait of solidarity.

The Kabyle family is patriarchal. It is composed of the father, mother, sons, their wives, their children, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, nephews, cousins. Often the entire family lives in one small hut, having everything in common. Sometimes, when the hut becomes too crowded and the family can afford to do so, an additional hut is built beside the family one to care for a married son and his family. Often one room is added to the family hut.

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[7] Randall-MacIver, op. cit., p. 15.
[8] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 6.
[9] Ibid, p. 7.

The father is always supreme ruler of the family. Even when the sons have married and had children of their own they still recognize the authority of their father. Upon the death of the father the oldest son in the household assumes the authoritative role. In case there is no son or grandson to assume the role, it passes to the nearest male relative in the household.

The patriarchal family, found among the Kabyles, is a very old institution. It is said to date from the fourth century B. C.[10] Plato speaks of this early state in his "Laws" when he says, "For those born in that age of the world's history did not as yet possess the art of writing, but lived by following custom, and what is called 'patriarchal laws.' " [11]

A Kabyle family is also patrilineal, relationship being reckoned through the males. The children all bear the name of their father, while the wife continues to use her own family name after marriage. When a woman speaks of her husband she often does so as "the father of my children" or the "father of such and such a child."

The family is usually patrilocal, the girl going to reside in the home of her husband's family. It sometimes happens that if the husband goes to the city or to France to work that his wife will return to her own home during his absence. This is more likely to occur if there are no children in the family.

Men who have found work outside the native villages sometimes take their families with them and establish their own homes. This means of course a weakening in the solidarity of the family ties. The family is no longer patrilocal nor is total authority vested in the father of the household.

Polygyny is recognized by the Kabyles just as it is sanctioned by Moslem law. It is, however, not the practice among Kabyles, being found only very rarely among them.

One reason for this is an economic one. The majority of the men cannot afford more than one wife at a time. Divorce is so easily obtained that it is much easier and much more in line with the economic status of the men, to have frequent divorce rather than a second wife in the household.

Kabyle custom differs from Roman Law and also from Moslem law by not admitting the legal existence of concubines, and

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[10] Maine, Sir H. J., *Dissertations on Early Law and Custom*, p. 196.

[11] From Bury, R. G., *Plato with an English Translation, Laws*, Vol. I, William Heineman, publishers, p. 177.

the customs do not even tolerate any sex relations outside of marriage.[12]

One of the most influential persons in the household, in spite of the fact that the family is patriarchal, is the mother-in-law. Duchêne, in his story of "Thamilla" [13] has painted most graphically a scene which is very typical in many Kabyle families. The mother-in-law, often jealous of her son's affection for his wife, resorts to very clever intrigue in order to bring about a divorce. If the mother-in-law dislikes her daughter-in-law, she may make life almost unlivable. Very often the work falls upon the daughter-in-law, especially upon the newest comer into the home. There are families where happiness and harmony seem to reign much of the time. On the other hand, there are many families where jealousy and intrigue keep the members of the group in constant turmoil.

The Kabyle family does not seem bound together primarily by love and affection. In many instances to be sure, there is real affection and it is sometimes very striking to see how much affection the father has for his children. Yet, the family seems to be kept very often in submission through fear of the father. The children are afraid their father will beat them if they incur his displeasure. The wife lives in constant fear of divorce. She, too, is sometimes beaten. In fact, a woman seems to have more respect for a husband who beats her, displaying, often proudly, her marks to the village women. Yet, many times the children go uncorrected and frequently are very undisciplined. The mother is especially indulgent with the boys.

The foundation of the Roman family was found in the power of the husband or father. The same is true in the Kabyle family. What De Coulanges says of the ancient Roman and Greek family is also true in Kabylia:

> Nor is the family principle natural affection. For Greek and Roman Law makes no account of this sentiment. The sentiment may exist in the heart but it is not in the law. The father may have affection for his daughter, but he cannot will her his property. The laws of succession, that is to say, those laws which most faithfully reflect the ideas

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[12] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 148.

[13] Duchêne, F., *Thamilla* (Translated from the French by Isabell May and Emily Newton).

> which men had of the family, are in open contradiction both with order of birth and with natural affection.[14]

Jewish family life was based on mutual reverence between parents and children. Authority over the children during their years of minority was vested in the father. The whole family life was pervaded with religion. The individual was merged in the family and the family was merged in the community. Family chastity, affection, piety, forbearance and joyousness were the strength of it.[15]

In early Roman society the individual existed merely for the sake of the family.[16] Among the ancient Romans the

> father not only had judicial authority over the children, implying the right of inflicting capital punishment on them, though not without a just cause,—but he could sell them at discretion. Even the grown-up son and his children were subject to the house-father's authority. The consent of the paterfamilias was indispensable to the marriage of the children, sons and daughters alike.[17]

Roman marriage was strictly monogamous.[18] Religion was the fundamental principle of the family.[19] The father was the priest of the domestic altar, the chief minister of the domestic religion.[20] The wife in the Roman home, subject to obedience, did have dignity and the marriages were usually a happy and permanent union.[21]

In the Moslem family the father is the head and descent is reckoned through the paternal line.[22] The women are veiled and do not have as much freedom in moving about the village as Kabyle women possess. The Moslems practice polygyny. Bosanquet notes that as far back as we can penetrate into the early history of the human race we find the family already exist-

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[14] DeCoulanges, Fustel, *The Ancient City,* by permission of Lathrop, Lee & Shepherd Co., publishers, p. 51.

[15] Abrahams, I., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. 5, p. 741b.

[16] Carter, J. B., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. 5, p. 746b.

[17] From Westermarck, E., *The History of Human Marriage,* Vol. II, by permission The Macmillan Company, publishers, p. 333.

[18] Ibid, Vol. III, p. 49.

[19] Thwing, C. F., and Thwing, C. F. R., *The Family,* p. 35.

[20] Ibid, p. 36.

[21] Ibid, p. 38.

[22] Levy, R., *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam,* Vol. I, p. 192.

ing, and that we find the father as the protector and master of the family.[23]

From the above it is seen that these various civilizations, which during the course of events made their influence felt upon the Berbers in North Africa, though having different ways of expressing some phases of family life, were all patriarchal and counted descent through males. Although the Kabyles admit polygyny as it is sanctioned and practiced by Moslems, it has not become the practice among them. It is only on very rare occasions that it is found and then it does not have the approval of many of the people in the villages.

The Kabyles live in villages on the hill tops, each village being a unit in itself. The huts are crowded together, with narrow, winding paths making passage possible through the village. The dwellings are constructed of mud and stone, all being the same type of structure. These huts are rectangular with a low, wooden door as the only opening. There is sometimes in the better houses an overhead loft used for storage or for sleeping quarters. During the last few years some huts have been constructed with one or two windows.

The roofs of the houses are made of tile. This roof is carried on forked uprights. Upon these uprights are placed the heavy longitudinal beams, and upon these the main rafters, then the small longitudinal beams and small rafters. This is covered with a layer of reeds packed tightly together. Upon these reeds are laid the laths and the red tiles are placed on these. The tiles sometimes shift their positions in the changing weather conditions, especially in the strong winds. Heavy stones are often placed upon some of the lower tiles to keep them in place.

There is a partition dividing the one room into two parts, the floor level of the one is lower than the other. The animals occupy the lower, smaller part, while the other is used for the living quarters of the family. Randall-MacIver and Wilkin think the Kabyle house is a comparatively recent introduction from some European source.[24]

The interior furnishings of a Kabyle hut are very meager. In one corner are the amphorae containing oil, cereal, figs. Somewhere in the floor of the hut there is a round, shallow hole over

[23] Bosanquet, H., *The Family*, p. 37.

[24] Randall-MacIver, D., and Wilkin, A., *Libyan Notes*, p. 47.

which the cooking is done. Since the door is the only means of escape for the smoke from the fire used for cooking, the huts are often very smoky. The family use sleeping mats and blankets at night.

The villages contain no latrines and no bath houses and there are no sanitary facilities available in any of the huts. The people on the whole are very dirty and their clothes are often in rags.

The men and boys dress alike and the women and girls alike. There is more variety in the dress of the men than of the women, for a European element is sometimes found in masculine dress. This of course has been due to the travel of the men, to their opportunities to buy in the cities, and also to the second-hand clothing found on the markets.

The men wear the red fez upon their heads and in the summer a large straw hat is usually worn over the fez. Trousers are of a loose, baggy, ill-fitting variety and made of cotton materials, white, brown and blue being the colors most frequently seen. The shirt, a loose garment made of cotton material, is very long, coming well below the knees, and is sometimes worn without trousers. Every man has a burnous, a large, hand-woven, woolen garment, in the shape of a huge cape with a hood. This is worn with the right end flung over the left shoulder.

Ibn Khaldoun describes the dress of the Kabyles of his day thus: "Their clothing and nearly all their goods are woolen. They wrap themselves in striped garments of which they throw one end over the shoulder, and over all they let float a black burnous. Generally they go with the head bare, and from time to time they shave." [25]

The women and girls in Great Kabylia dress somewhat differently from those in Little Kabylia. All wear much jewelry, bright colored head-handkerchiefs of cotton or silk. Dresses are in bright colors. The dress is made somewhat like a "Mother Hubbard," loose, and without much shape. Several may be worn at a time, the top one always being the shortest. The length is easily adjusted under the large hand-made woolen belt which is worn. A long piece of cloth worn as a wrap-around skirt is used in Great Kabylia. The women are usually barefooted.

There are many phases of life in which the family do not

[25] From Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire Des Berberes,* Vol. I, pp. 167-168, (Traduite de l'Arabe par M. Le Baron De Slane) Imprimerie Du. Gouvernment.

share as a family. Meals are not eaten in common. The men are served first, then the women and children eat what is left. Worship is not shared. The men attend services at the mosque, the women and children do not. Most of the social life for the woman takes place within her own court yard, while the men gather at the mosque, or the djemâa, at the marketplace or the coffee house.

The one gathering place of the women is at the fountain during the hours when they go for water. At some of the fountains in the summer time they must wait a long time while the water drips slowly into their water jars. In other parts of Kabylia there is a greater abundance of water. At the fountain the women often do their washing. Here there is time to exchange all the news of the village, to learn of the coming and going of people, of the divorces, of the prospective marriages, of the suspicions, the hates, and the intrigues taking place in the life of the village. There are women, the ones in the more well-to-do families, and many of the marabout women, who never get to the fountain. They are kept within the confines of their own courtyard. But the women who carry water for them bring them the news. Women of the same *kharouba*, being usually related, visit back and forth more freely than it is possible to do with those living in other parts of the village.

The men gather at the djemâa to talk and play checkers. In many of the villages there is a coffee house where many of the men gather. In order to open one of these a man must have a permit from the French government and abide by the laws. These coffee houses are often located outside the village. Before the days of the coffee house the men returned home at dark when all the family would go to bed. Now some of the men stay late to play cards. Hanoteau says that cards were completely unknown in Kabylia in ancient times, they were introduced there since the conquest of Algeria by the French, but the djemâa has shown no special concern to prohibit them or to regulate their use.[26]

Gambling is resorted to by some who play cards with the result that some families who were comfortably situated have been reduced to poverty. In the coffee house only coffee is permitted to be sold. The men frequent them in order to chat, play

[26] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 264.

cards or checkers or dominoes and drink Kabyle coffee. In a few of them liquor is sold illegally.

Many of the customs concerning women are very severe and the violation of them is more serious than murder. "A kiss pays dearer than an assassination." [27]

Kissing a woman on the mouth is forbidden. Women must not go out bareheaded, must not stop in the village paths to talk with men. The men are supposed to keep away from the fountains and off the paths leading to the fountains at the hours when the women go for water. The court-yards are walled in, with walls too high to gaze over, and it is forbidden a man outside the family to gaze into the court-yard. These laws are much more strictly enforced in some parts of Kabylia than in others.

The wife owes obedience to her husband in all matters. "He may correct his wife each time she is at fault. If his fist is not sufficient he may use a stick, a stone, a sword. His right only stops at homicide." [28]

The wife must live in the home of her husband, and follow him if he chooses to leave and take her elsewhere. The wife owes fidelity to her husband. In this respect the Kabyles are most severe. They do not tolerate adultery. Fathers have been known to kill their daughters who have been guilty of this. Such a murder is not considered a crime in the eyes of the Kabyle. If such a case appears before the French tribunal it is subject to the criminal laws of the French.

Duchêne tells the story of a young unmarried Kabyle girl who in 1928 in the vicinity of M—— was found to be pregnant. The father gave her the choice of poison tablets used for jackals or a knife. She chose the poison and swallowed it. She began to suffer. After four hours her father, upon her supplications, administered another dose. Still death did not come. For three days the young girl suffered while the mother sadly watched. Later when the case was before the criminal court the mother said that whenever the father left the house she threw herself upon her daughter and they wept together. But upon his return they kept still. The father said to the judge, "I did it

[27] From Hanoteau et Letourneux, *La Kabylie et Les Coutumes Kabyles*, Vol. III, Augustin Challamel, Editeur, p. 209.

[28] Ibid, Vol. II, p. 167.

because I was obliged to do so. As long as my child was not dead I could not live. At present she has paid, I breathe." [29]

All which concerns the woman's interests touches the *h'orma* (honor) of the village. Hence, the village intervenes in all circumstances to respect or avenge its honor, which makes a part of the common patrimony.[30]

However, many of these cases never reach the courts as they are kept strictly secret by the family. If the family does not take the life of the guilty girl, at least the child is always killed at birth. Yamina, a young girl in her early teens, was engaged to be married but was found to be pregnant. A man in her village who had a family was accused. It was the concensus of opinion, however, in the village, that the one accused was not guilty, but that the girl's own brother was responsible. However, it became necessary for the accused man to flee the village, going to France to work.

The story of the girl's condition would probably never have been known in the village, had not her future mother-in-law come to examine her to see if she was all right for her son to marry. Needless to say, when the girl was found to be pregnant, the engagement was broken, and the story was known throughout the village. When the baby was born, it was immediately killed. Very soon the girl disappeared. It was said that she had been married to a man from one of the desert tribes, a long distance away. Thus the disgrace was removed from the family and the village. In case of adultery on the part of a married woman, it is not her husband who kills her or the baby, it is her own parents who do so.

The wife is responsible for the care of the home. This includes carrying the water from the fountain, preparation of food, washing of the clothes, care of the children, care of the hut, preparation of wool for spinning and weaving. She also assists with much of the outdoor work in the planting and harvesting, in the gathering of the olives and the making of the oil, and in the picking and drying of the figs.

The husband is responsible for providing food and clothing for his family. But this may be done as he wishes. He bought his wife and is free to treat her as he pleases, one custom accord-

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[29] From Duchêne, F., *Ceux D'Algerie*, aux Editions Des Horizons De France, p. 114.

[30] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 208.

ing to Bousquet-Lefèvre says that he may send her back to her family "as naked as a worm." [31]

The question of whether or not the man can support a wife does not seem to enter into the negotiations when a wife is being chosen. Since the bride goes to live in the family of her husband, she is assured some measure of care whether her own husband is able to provide it or not.

At night the family all occupies the same sleeping quarters in the Kabyle hut. In this way the children see the most intimate side of life from the time they are very young. They hear much of the adult conversation, so know most of what is being thought and said in the village.

If the family does make a trip to visit some relative, or to attend a wedding or a funeral, it is the man who walks first, followed by the woman who carries the baby on her back. If there is no child small enough to be carried, the woman will carry on her back a good part of whatever the family is taking with them. Should the family have a donkey, it is customary for the man to ride this and for the women and children to walk along behind. Sometimes a small child rides with the father.

There are certain elements which have been very favorable to the type of family found in Kabylia. The spirit of solidarity has already been mentioned. The profound respect which the Kabyles have for custom is also a strong element in the maintenance of the same type of family life over a long period of time. The inheritance through males has strengthened such a family. Again, the independent life away from other influences has helped to maintain the Kabyle family.

But, today, there are certain new forces which are having their influence upon the Kabyle family life. These in time will no doubt bring about some radical changes in the life of the family. The economic status of Kabylia is so low that many of the young men have had to seek employment outside Kabylia. This has been a disrupting force in the life of the Kabyle family. As has been already pointed out, in many cases when the husband works away from the village, the wife returns to her own home. Sometimes the men working in France marry European wives and have children there. Occasionally a man returns to

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[31] From Bousquet-Lefèvre, L., *La Femme Kabyle*, p. 91, Librarie Des Recueil Sirey.

Kabylia with his European wife and children. She, of course, finds the life very different from what she had expected. She finds it most difficult to make her adjustments to the life to which she has come. Sometimes she gives up the struggle of trying to improve her surroundings and sinks to the level of the other villagers. If she does this she may or she may not have the respect of the village folk, depending upon the community and how much sympathy they have for her. But she has been married, contrary to the Kabyle women, under French law and cannot be divorced at the whim of her husband, so that the home must be maintained in spite of the difficulties, unless the woman manages to make her escape.

French law, as will be seen a little further on, is playing its part in changing certain things in the family by giving to the women, through legislation, rights which she has never possessed under Kabyle law.

Many of the men are coming to realize that stability in the family life is an asset to them in climbing the social ladder and in making European contacts which are helpful for their advancement in work.

They are trying to make a choice of a mate who will make for a permanent marriage. The young men are often hampered in this by their parents who ignore their wishes, following Kabyle custom, and making the choice for them.

Example after example could be given of this. Akli was a young man anxious to make good; he was a student at the Normal School, preparing himself for the teaching profession. He hoped to find an educated wife. But he had no choice in the matter. His family sent for him one day, and when he reached home he found a wedding celebration was in progress. It was his own! It had been arranged by his family, without his knowledge or consent. To refuse to obey his family and accept the girl chosen for him might bring a break so serious as to cause rek'ba. Consequently he acquiesced.

Many of the men are wanting educated wives. Since there are as yet very few educated girls, the men are turning to European girls. In most instances where these mixed marriages occur, the European girls are from the inferior group. Kabyle parents not seeing the need of an educated man having an educated wife and, as in the case of Akli, just cited, are liable to choose for their educated son a very ignorant girl. A few men have been

able to rise above the downward pull of an ignorant wife by teaching her to read and write.

The information from ancient and modern sources as to the composition of the family in North Africa are very few.

> Ancient Greek or Roman writers who deal with North Africa were not particularly interested in social organizations. From the Mohammedan point of view as well as in consequence of his early date, Ibn Khaldoun was not interested in such questions as the position of the family, types of marriage, and patrilineal or matrilineal descent.[32]

Bel in speaking of the patrilineal Berber family and inheritance through the males says:

> This situation of the family which is that of the Berbers of today is very ancient, for it is attested at least for certain Berber groups from the thirteenth century B. C., and it is found across the History of Barbary, even yet with Islam, in the Berber Moslem tribes, where the tribal custom has excluded the Islamic legislation in the material.[33]

Would this not tend to show that the structure of the Kabyle family has survived from antiquity almost without change?

In Kabyle marriage the Moslem law is respected as regards blood relationships.

> Prohibited to you
> (For marriage) are:
> Your mothers, daughters,
> Sisters, father's sisters.
> Mother's sisters, brother's daughters,
> Sister's daughters; foster-mothers
> (Who gave you suck), foster-sisters;
> Your wives' mothers;
> Your step-daughters under your
> Guardianship, born of your wives
> To whom ye have gone in,—
> No prohibition if ye have not gone in;
> Wives of your sons proceeding
> From your loins;

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[32] Barton, G. A., *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, by permission of University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 109.

[33] From Bel, A., *La Religion Musulmane en Berbérie*, Tome I, published by Librarie Orientaliste, Paul Ganthner, p. 67.

And two sisters in wedlock
At one and the same time,
Except for what is past;
For God is Oft-forgiving,
Most Merciful;—
Also (prohibited are)
Women already married,
Except those
Whom your right hands possess;
Thus hath God ordained
Prohibitions against you:
Except for these, all others
Are lawful, provided
Ye seek (them in marriage)
With gifts from your property,—
Desiring chastity not lust.
Seeing that ye derive
Benefit from them, give them
Their dowers (at least)
As prescribed; but if,
After a dower is prescribed, ye agree
Mutually (to vary it)
There is no blame on you.
And God is all-knowing,
All wise.[34]

Marriage with a negress is not forbidden in principle; but it would be opposed by the family and the Kabyle who would defy the resistance of his kharouba would be forced to become an exile to prevent tragic consequences.[35] There is a Kabyle man in one village who is married to a negress and who has continued to live in his village as public opinion did not object.

It is not the custom for a Kabyle man to marry a Jew or a Christian who has not renounced her religion. There are a few instances where this has happened but usually the so-called Christian wife, either by choice or from force, returned to her Moslem practices.

The aristocratic pride of the marabouts has introduced into the *kanoun* (laws) of the villages a penalty which is almost equal to a prohibition against whoever gives his daughter to a

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[34] From Abdullah, Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Quran, Text, Translation and Commentary*, published by Shaikh Muhammed Ashraf, Sura IV: 23-24.

[35] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 164.

Kabyle or who cedes to him his wife.[36] The marabouts, considering themselves a special group, want to keep their marriages within that group.

Other prohibitions are also observed in the selection of a wife. Though it is not in the *kanoun,* still custom would not sanction a man from a good family taking a wife from a family whose members exercise a profession looked upon as shameful by the Kabyles. Some of the professions looked down upon include: butcher, cobbler, and dancer.[37] Nor is marriage with an adulteress sanctioned.

As in Moslem law, celibacy is frowned upon. The Moslem looks upon marriage as a religious duty. It is related in the Traditions that Mohammed said: "When the servant of God marries, he perfects half of his religion." [38]

Every young girl expects to be married and looks forward to nothing else in life but marriage. Bousquet-Lefèvre says that the old Chaouïa proverb might well be Kabyle: "For a girl there is nothing but marriage and the grave." [39]

The most rigid rules pertaining to marriage to be found in any Berber group are found among the Kabyles. The girl is not consulted as to her wishes in regard to marriage. She is the property of her nearest male relative—father, grandfather, brother, uncle. It is he who makes all the arrangements for her marriage, and *sells* her. The word which the Kabyles use for this transaction is *sell.* A man announces his marriage by saying, *"Our'er' thamet'touth idhelli."* (I bought a wife yesterday.) When a father has sold his daughter in marriage it is said of him: *Itcha seg illi-s.* (He eats from his daughter.) This means that with the money obtained from the marriage sale he can feed his family.

The woman in Kabylia has no right of choice and can neither give nor withhold her consent to marry. She is sold. This is contrary to Moslem law where supposedly she gives her consent.[40] The Kabyle woman being sold in marriage by her father, it is he who receives the price. Moslem law provides that the woman receive the *mahr* or *dot* which Shukri says is "merely a

[36] Honoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. 11, p. 165.
[37] Idem.
[38] Hughes, T. P., *Dictionary of Islam,* p. 313b.
[39] Bousquet-Lefèvre, op. cit., p. 37.
[40] Ahmed Shukri, *Muhammedan Law of Marriage and Divorce,* pp. 43-47.

token of respect for its object, the woman." [41] Roman law also recognizes the right of the woman to the dot in what they call *donatio propter nuptias*. The Kabyle woman receives no dowry.

Lowie says that in many societies bride-purchase is never degrading to the girl, that a man pays only for a competent bride of good character, and that unions of this sort are regarded as more stable than mere love matches.[42]

Kabyle law does not fix the age at which marriage is legal for the girl, and until French law intervened in recent years, the Kabyle girl could be married even before puberty. Kabyle custom seemed to be to marry the girls as young as possible, sometimes even as early as eight or ten years of age. But since World War I they have been a little older—usually having reached the age of puberty.

There are often economic reasons which cause the father to sell his daughters while they are still young. For the very poor, it is a relief to have the girls married and away from the responsibility of the father to provide. This is another instance where the Kabyles run counter to Orthodox Islam, which forbids marriage before the age of puberty.

The French law, passed May 2, 1930, fixed the legal age of marriage for the Kabyle girl at fifteen. In order to enforce this law the following legislation was also passed: "Qu'aucun marriage ne pourrait en outre être conclu sans une déclaration de fiançailles préalable et sans justification de l'âge des futurs époux." [43] (No marriage can be concluded without a previous declaration of engagement and without proof of the age of the future husband and wife.)

Before the passing of this law the Kabyle who gave in marriage or married a young girl who was not nubile, exposed himself to criminal prosecution if the marriage brought serious consequences. The judge decided whether the husband of an immature girl who had sexual relations with her and used violence to obtain his ends, committed the crime of rape.[44] However, if such consequences did happen they were usually covered up within the confines of the village and did not come to the attention of the French authorities.

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[41] Ibid, p. 57.
[42] Lowie, op. cit., p. 240.
[43] Bousquet-Lefèvre, op. cit., p. 73.
[44] Ibid, p. 75.

To have a French law protecting the girl until the age of fifteen, and to have that law observed, are two different matters. It is most difficult to obtain any information from the Kabyles themselves as to how well the law is being enforced. Certain cases have come to the attention of the French authorities and been handled in the French courts. But the number is relatively small. This does not mean that all others are observing the law.

Bousquet-Lefèvre cites examples of infractions of the law saying she knew of several girls under fifteen who were married in 1938, some were thirteen, some were fourteen years of age, and one was only ten (born April 1928 and married November 1938). She cites an instance of a father who received the unusually high sum of ten thousand francs for his daughter of ten.[45]

Not only is a virgin sold in marriage without her consent, but the same law applies to the widow and to the woman who has been repudiated. However, in most of the tribes, the rule has been established which gives the widow and the woman repudiated the right to reject two pretenders. But after that their right ends, and they are forced to submit to the law and be sold by the man responsible for them. This coercion usually stops when the woman reaches the age where marriage will be sterile.

Though the decision for marriage rests with the father, the whole family group is interested. There are times when the mother, or grandmother in the family is able to wield considerable influence. However, this is more likely to be felt in the home of the man than of the girl. Older women are ever on the alert to find among the eligible girls one who would be good wives for their sons or grandsons. This influence is sometimes exerted in divers and subtle ways.

The marriage arrangements are ordinarily made between the father of the girl and the father of the man. A minor son cannot contract a marriage without the consent of his father or male guardian. But before a discussion can take place between the fathers and negotiations proceed, the way is prepared by intermediaries who sound out the girl's family. These are friends of the family who by tact and diplomacy learn whether or not the girl's father is favorably disposed. This preliminary work is often done by the women.

If the intermediaries bring a favorable report, the father of

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[45] Ibid, p. 80.

the man arranges to meet privately the father of the girl. No others are present at this meeting where the principal question to be discussed is the amount the father will receive for his daughter. There are usually a number of questions entering into the discussion, but the principal one is always the price.

The father of the girl will more readily consent to marriage with a man who has had some French education. The fact that a girl has been repudiated, or is not handsome, is no hindrance to the negotiations. However, the reputation of the girl, as it has been noised about by the women in the village, may have considerable influence in the final figure agreed upon for the girl.

Certain characteristics which are rare among the people, and are much admired, may help to bring a better price. For example, the Kabyles believe that red hair has sacred significance, and they will often ask a much higher price for a girl with auburn hair. Pride causes the father to take into consideration the social position of the man in question. He wants it to be as high as or higher than that of the girl.

In order not to appear too anxious to terminate the affair, the girl's father waits several days before giving his consent. Once this has been given, a meeting is arranged to be held at the home of the girl's parents. Friends of both parties assist at this meeting, but the two most intimately concerned are not supposed to be in attendance. At this time the arrangements are announced and the conditions of the marriage revealed. The two fathers, before the witnesses, give their consent, the marabout pronounces the *Fatiha,* (the first Sura of the Koran), and the news spreads through the village.

It is customary for the future groom to send to the future bride a silk head-handkerchief at this time. From henceforth the girl is said to be *purchased* and the price paid is called *thoutchith* which means "to eat." It will be seen from this that the "dot" which is an essential condition of a Moslem marriage is not recognized by the Kabyles.

> And give the women
> (On marriage) their dower
> As a free gift; but if they,
> Of their own good pleasure
> Remit any part of it to you,
> Take it and enjoy it
> With good cheer.[46]

[46] *The Qur'an,* Translation by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Sura IV: 3.

To the Kabyle the *thoutchith* is most important. One man went so far as to say to Bousquet-Lefèvre: "Il n'y a que ça d'essential." (It is the only thing essential.)[47] Kabyle law sets no maximum or minimum for the *thoutchith*. The fathers often have a long debate over the amount, usually the father of the girl asks an exorbitant sum, decreasing little by little until an agreeable term is reached. The *thoutchith* is never paid in kind, always in currency. The girl to be married must have a trousseau and part of the purchase price may be used for this purpose. However, there is no fixed law that demands this. In reality the money belongs to the father who sold his daughter and he is at liberty to use it as he pleases.

The cash which is received is not all that the father demands of the future husband. He is also required to furnish a certain quantity of provisions which are used for the wedding festivities. This obligation is known as *cherout'* (from the Arabic شروط translated "condition," or "clause"). In wealthy families the *cherout'* is not discussed between the families because the vanity of the future husband will cause him to be generous in his gifts.[48]

On the other hand, there are certain obligations incumbent upon the father of the girl. He promises to give a certain amount of clothing and jewelry to his daughter. Of late years a mattress has nearly always been included. These gifts are known as *çedak* (from the Arabic صدقة translated "donation made to the woman being married"). In pure Kabyle tradition the *thoutchith, cherout'* and *çedak* are stipulated in the presence of witnesses without any act being drawn up.[49]

In addition to these stipulated gifts the fiancé sends to his future bride gifts, usually head-handkerchiefs or a *thakendourth* (Kabyle dress), upon the occasion of every Moslem fete until the marriage is consummated. Gifts are usually included, too, for the other women members of the household. These are of course not so elaborate.

In various localities the custom varies as to the kind and nature of gifts and whether or not it is only the bride-to-be who is to receive them or whether the other women in the household are to be included. Parents try to be as generous as possible

[47] Bousquet-Lefèvre, op. cit., p. 64.
[48] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 161.
[49] Ibid, p. 163.

with their gifts to the bride. This is especially true of jewelry. Even the very poorest families will give some jewelry to their daughters when they are married. The women often save out some of the grain which they have for food and trade this for jewelry to travelling pedlars who visit the village. The mother always arranges, too, for a little beauty kit containing kohl for the eyes, henna, strongly scented and highly colored soap, mirror, perfume, and other small articles found in the pack of the travelling pedlar.

Once the contract for the marriage has been made valid by its proclamation before witnesses and the recitation of the *Fatiha,* it is binding upon both parties and can only be broken with very serious consequences. The breaking of the contract by either party may lead to a blood fued, or may eventually be brought before the French court where such arrangements in the past have been declared binding.

Once the contract is made, the consummation of the marriage may take place at any time. There is no stipulation as to the length of time which may elapse between the time the contract is made and the time the *thoutchith* is paid and the girl is turned over to her husband. It may be a question of only a few months, again it may take a longer time to get the necessary money for the *thoutchith.* Again, if, as sometimes happens, the contract is made at birth, or when the child is still very young, the time of waiting will be long.

The marriage festivities in Kabylia are always important, usually lasting three days. Not all of the same customs take place in all parts of Kabylia but the following is a typical description of a Kabyle wedding. On the first day of the wedding celebration, the father of the groom brings to the father of the bride the *thoutchith.* Not until the father has this money in his hands does he allow the girl to be taken away.

When the price is paid, it is customary for the one receiving the money to make a reduction in the price, returning a certain sum to the father of the groom. There is no law demanding this, but custom expects it. Sometimes a rather substantial sum is remitted, sometimes only just enough to say that custom has been observed. It is a question of pride—to show that one is not primarily interested in the money. The *thoutchith* is paid in the presence of witnesses and the *Fatiha* is repeated.

For hours before time for the bride to be taken from the house

she is being prepared for her departure. She is dressed in gay colored *thiqoudiar* (plural of *thaqandourth*—Kabyle dress) made of silk, sometimes with lace sleeves. Upon her head are tied bright colored *thihendiaie* (plural of *thakindith*, head-handkerchiefs). The hands, feet and hair are dyed with henna, the eyebrows and eyelashes are blacked with kohl.

The neighbor women assist in preparing the bride for her marriage. They help her dress and give her advice as to what is expected of her during the wedding festivities. A needle is fastened to the head-handkerchief to ward off evil spirits. Food is set before her and she is urged to eat, being told that if she does not eat before leaving her home she will be very hungry. She is admonished to refuse food offered her during the feasting in order not to appear gluttonous.

The bride's clothes, blankets, jewelry, and other personal possessions are packed in an *assendouq*. The *assendouq* has been bought by the bride's father either at market or from a maker of *assendouq*. It is a rectangular shaped box with a lock. The outside is painted in bright colors, green, red, orange, or rose, and decorated with rectilinear designs similar to those used on pottery. If the maker of the *assendouq* has had access to European supplies, the box is often lined with wall-paper.

The male relatives of the groom come to take the girl to her future home. Heavily veiled, she is placed upon the mule, the *assendouq* behind her. Another mule may carry the mattress or any other possessions she may have. Amid the firing of guns and the *yū-yū* shouts of the women, the bride is taken away. The guns are fired along the way and again when the bridal party reaches its destination. Gunfire and the *yū-yū* shouts are believed to ward off evil spirits.

Upon the arrival of the wedding party at the groom's home, the mother-in-law appears with a water jar. The girl must swallow seven times but leave enough water for her husband to swallow seven times, too. The rest of the water is thrown on the girl while they say, "We give water," and the girl answers, "I enter with water and faith." The water is to indicate that there will be faith between the husband and wife and that she will not deceive her parents-in-law. The mother-in-law gives the bride an egg to toss over her shoulder, a symbol that she may be fruitful.

Lifted from the mule the bride is taken into the hut and

placed in a corner on a cushion while the wedding guests make merry. Under the cushion upon which she sits is placed some wheat signifying that the bride will find food in the home of her husband. Sometimes there are musicians and dancers, at other times the women shout and chant and beat upon old tin cans. The men remain outside the hut, the women inside. Feasting upon cous-cous, the festivities are kept up for hours, until finally weary they sleep until morning when they begin again.

The next day the bride changes her dress and head-handkerchief and the women comb her hair. In Little Kabylia the groom's brother comes in, cuts off a lock of the bride's hair and placing it in his shoe, tramps upon it. Her brother-in-law gives her the equivalent of twenty-five cents for this privilege. This act is to signify submission on the part of the girl to her new husband. In some parts of Kabylia this submission is indicated by seven raps upon the head with a reed as the bride enters the court-yard for the first time.

When the husband first asks the bride for food she must not answer him but must only jingle her necklace. If she answers, it is believed her husband will have no affection for her. Upon the first trip to the fountain to get water, usually after seven days, she throws salt and wheat along the path and around the fountain: the wheat is an appeal that God may give her boys, the salt so that she will be always gracious. Westermarck says that it is quite possible that the peoples of North Africa have received this custom from Indo-Europeans, but it may have been a genuine Berber custom.[50]

After marriage the event which is most feared by the wife is divorce. Kabyle law gives the woman no right to seek divorce, but a man may divorce his wife at will by simply saying, "I divorce you."

No special formula is needed for Kabyle repudiation, and no set number of times for the statement of repudiation to be made such as in Koranic law, which requires that the declaration be made three times. The repudiation is made before witnesses and in Kabylia is irrevocable.

A repudiated woman returns to the home of her father and remains in subjection to him until he again sells her. The husband, according to Kabyle law, may place on the head of his repudiated wife an indemnity which is known as *lefdi*. This

[50] Westermarck, E., *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, p. 478.

sum, be it modest or exorbitant, must be paid by the parents of the repudiated woman before a new marriage may be arranged.

That repudiation is very frequent is evidenced in a survey made by the writer in one village where not a woman was found who had not been divorced at least once, while some had been divorced several times.

Within the last few years certain legislation has been passed by the French which gives the Kabyle woman some right to divorce and which also prohibits the *lefdi*. May 19, 1931, in Paris, French laws were enacted which are important steps in making the life of the Kabyle woman more tolerable. The decree says,

> A woman may ask for a divorce in case of cruelty practiced by the husband, for desertion for more than three years by the husband from the conjugal domicile, or for insufficient support attributable to the husband, for absence of the husband for more than two years, or for being condemned to death or life imprisonment.
>
> It is forbidden the husband, in case of repudiation to demand of the woman repudiated or of her parents, the payment of an indemnity of whatever nature it might be, and especially of the *lefdi*, exception being made for the repayment of the dot. Whatever the circumstances be, the sum claimed by the husband for the repayment of the dot must not be more than the sum which he would have paid to the parent at the time of the conclusion of the marriage.[51]

Though a woman now has the right to divorce in French court under the conditions cited above, there are as yet not many who are able to avail themselves of this advantage. It is often difficult for her to find witnesses who will testify against her husband. In other cases the woman has not sufficient knowledge of the law and its procedure to know how to obtain a divorce. She usually, too, finds it impossible to get from her mountain village to the French court unless her parents are interested in helping her to obtain the divorce.

Though the *lefdi* is forbidden the man has the right upon repudiation of his wife, to ask a "price of redemption," but this must not surpass the original price of purchase. There are times

[51] Doumergue, G., Réglementation de la Condition de la Femme Kabyle, *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, Tome V, 1931, p. 8.

when in a fit of temper the husband may repudiate his wife without naming a price of redemption. This is known in Kabylia as *berrou bâtel* (unjustly repudiated). When this happens a family is deeply humiliated.

> The customs have so much force that in such a case the marabouts and men of influence are asked to intervene to persuade the husband to consent to fix a "redemption price," without which a kind of suspicion weighs upon the woman. One wonders what is the matter, and she risks it being difficult to marry again.[52]

Although the Kabyle woman has not had recourse to divorce until the French law of 1931, she has had recourse to what is known as a state of "insurrection." This is the only permissible way in which a woman may express any independence, and the only means of defending herself against her husband. When life becomes unbearable to her, and she wishes to escape from the conjugal domicile, or even sometimes at the instigation of her parents, she takes refuge in her own family and her husband has no right to oppose her departure or her return. It is, however, a situation which may lead to very serious consequences. Often it is possible to arrange an amicable settlement so that the woman may return to her husband. At other times this is not possible and a serious break may occur between the two families.

But most serious of all is the fact that the husband may leave his wife in a situation known as *thamaouok't* which means "withdrawn from circulation." If the husband repudiates her she is free to have a new marriage contracted for her. But if she is declared *thamaouok't,* she is unable to remarry as long as her husband leaves her in that state. He may take another wife if he wishes since polygyny is permitted, but she finds herself without her home and without resources, except those of her parents in whose home she is often unwanted and where she may be a heavy charge upon them. It must not be forgotten that such a woman lives in a society where there is no possibility of living an independent life.

Bousquet-Lefèvre cites an instance in Kabylia where a girl was placed under *thamaouok't* when very young, fourteen or fifteen years of age, and remained in that state all the rest of her life, from 1871-1924.[53]

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[52] Bousquet-Lefèvre, *Le Femme Kabyle,* Librarie Du Recueil Sirey, p. 127.
[53] Ibid, p. 97.

When the husband dies the widow without children returns to her father who may again sell her after the time of waiting. This custom is always carried out by the marabouts. In a large number of tribes, prior to 1902, the widow remained according to Kabyle expression "suspended to her husband" and made a part of his succession. It was the heirs of the husband who looked after her and disposed of her and received the *thoutchith*.[54] May 22, 1902, a law was passed which forbade a widow from passing to her husband's heirs along with his other possessions.[55]

It is, of course, the natural thing for the childless widow to return to her own parents and to come once again under the authority of her own father until such time as he again arranges a marriage for her. If the widow has children, especially boys, she will probably remain in the home of her husband until married again. If she does this it is possible she may marry some relative of her deceased husband and although this is by no means obligatory it is looked upon with favor by the Kabyles as representing a means of strengthening the family bonds. There are instances in which a widow renounces all intention of remarriage and gives herself to the care of her children. But in nearly all cases the young widow marries again.

One very important question in case of repudiation or widowhood is the disposition made of the children. It is well to note when discussing the problem of the children, that only one category of children is recognized among the Kabyles, those who are legitimate. Illegitimacy is not recognized by the Kabyle. The children belong to the father and the mother has no legal right over them. When a mother is in a state of insurrection or repudiated she is generally allowed to take her nursing child with her. The others remain with the father unless special permission is given for them to go with the mother.

In the case of a widow the rights over the children belong to the heirs of the father, to his family. This family has the right to take all the children from her if they so desire. It is customary for at least the nursing child to be left with the mother until the age of three or four, but there is no Kabyle law making this compulsory. Often the children all remain with

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[54] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 156.

[55] Morand, M., Le Statut de la Femme Kabyle et la Réforme des Coutumes Berbères, *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, Tome I, 1927, p. 48.

the mother and when she remarries they are taken with her to her new home. However, her husband's family always has the right to claim them. The boys may be demanded at any time while the girls are not often demanded until the age of marriage. Sometimes an uncle who has not been known even to exist may suddenly appear to claim his niece of marriagable age.

> In 1902 a French law was passed permitting the Kabyle widow to act as guardian of her minor children so long as she does not remarry. She can exercise over them the parental powers in that which concerns their personal rights and the use of their incomes. In practice the widow acts as guardian and brings the children under the supervision of the paternal line, while the pecuniary interests are confided to the nearest male relative of the mother's family, the mother in principle not taking any direct part in the necessary transactions. Upon her remarriage she loses these guardian rights.[56]

In case of pregnancy for a widow the time allowed before remarriage is ten months and ten days (lunar) and for a divorced woman nine months and ten days.

One very strange theory in practice among the Kabyles is that known as the "sleeping" *(it't'es)* child. Hanoteau thinks that this is a tradition of most ancient antiquity.[57] According to this theory a divorced woman may declare she has a "sleeping" child and so long as she holds the child to be sleeping she cannot be married again. A widow will often, if she thinks she is pregnant, place her belt upon the corpse of her husband to declare that the child she is carrying belongs to her husband. Nothing can be done with the inheritance until this heir-to-be is born. If after eleven months the child has not been born, a mid-wife is called in who gives the woman an emmenagogue. If this does not produce delivery then the child is said to be "sleeping."

There is no limit to the length of time the child may remain "sleeping." This of course holds up the inheritance for if the "sleeping" child finally comes to life, should he be a boy, he has a share in the inheritance.

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[56] Bousquet-Lefèvre, op. cit., p. 119.

[57] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 174.

The theory of the "sleeping" child is not confined to widows and divorced women. This practice is sometimes used by women who fear they will be divorced because they have not had any children. The husband is told that the child is "sleeping." It is not necessarily a ruse for many believe profoundly in it, going to dispensaries and pharmacies in an endeavor to find some kind of medicine to awaken the "sleeping" child.

In speaking of this curious custom Hanoteau says,

> It is to be noted that among the Berbers it is the Kabyle population in which the customs are the most severe. Yet it sanctions in all its rigor a custom which has only been invented to despoil the family to the profit of the fruit of illegitimacy.[58]

The writer cannot accept this harsh statement by Hanoteau. The "sleeping" child tradition does not seem to be an attempt to cover up illegitimacy. Rigourous Kabyle laws deal with this. If the practice dates from ancient antiquity from a time when the length of pregnancy was unknown, such a practice could have arisen in order to protect inheritance rights. Since inheritance rights play a most important role, this seems a more logical reason for the "sleeping" child theory than the one given by Hanoteau.

The present day Kabyle does not accept with as blind a faith as formerly this theory and is more on his guard so that after two years if the "sleeping" child does not come to life, he begins to have serious doubts.[59] However, it is still practiced in many parts of Kabylia.

At child-birth the mother is attended by a mid-wife. Each village has one or more of these women who have had no special training of any kind, being as ignorant and as dirty as any of the rest of the women of the village. It is one or more of the older women in the village who function as mid-wives. They seem to gain their reputation by their ability in caring for the women and by common consent come to be known as mid-wives. They make no charge for their services but receive gifts in kind, such as coffee, sugar, grain, figs and eggs. The mid-wife makes several trips to see the mother and child but

[58] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 175.
[59] Bousquet-Lefèvre, op. cit., p. 102.

no special care is given to either. The mother continues at her work, in the fields, making pottery, carrying water, whatever tasks she has to perform, until the birth of the child. She begins work often in a week after the birth.

The baby is wrapped in swaddling clothes for which any available rags are used. It has a little cap upon its head, kohl upon its eye brows, and some amulets around its neck or fastened to the cap. These are to ward off evil spirits.

As soon as possible after birth an omelette of eggs thickened with semolina and fried in deep olive oil, then sprinkled with sugar, is given to the mother to eat. She sits by the fire in the hut to eat this.

The rejoicing manifest upon the new birth depends upon whether it is a boy or a girl. The birth of a boy brings great rejoicing—guns are fired and the women give the yū-yū shouts. The first to shout is always the mid-wife who begins as soon as she knows the sex of the child. A feast is held on the eighth day for the birth of a boy and is a most important occasion. The relatives and friends gather for a cous-cous dinner. They bring gifts to the new baby and the family of the mother brings special gifts to her, usually clothing and jewelry.

One of the most important gifts at the time of a birth is that of eggs. For weeks before the birth relatives will be buying eggs to have ready. If it is a girl, not so many eggs are needed but if it is a boy as many as possible are given. For all who call the same kind of omelette is prepared as the mother ate when the child was born.

A swing is usually prepared in which the baby can sleep. Sometimes this is made from cork bark found in the forest, sometimes from a packing box which has been found at the home or shop of some European. The swing is suspended from the rafters of the hut by home-made grass rope.

The mother nurses the baby, but many times not having enough milk, the baby starves. If the mother dies at childbirth, or does not have sufficient milk, some other woman in the village may nurse the baby or share in its nursing. There seems to be no taboo on passing of the children around from one nurse to another.

There is no age limit in Kabylia at which the mother ceases to nurse her child. The lactation period is usually very long. No discretion is used as to what may be fed to the baby. As

soon as the child can eat he is given anything which he wants to eat. Little children may eat huge quantities of hot peppers or other indigestible foods. Most of them suffer from worms and intestinal illnesses are frequent.

The infant mortality is very high. In the summer dysentery takes a large toll among the children and in the winter time pneumonia does the same. The number of babies who are severely or critically burned is very large. These children fall into the fire-hole which is in the floor of the hut and is used for cooking. They are often rescued too late.

Bathing takes place only occasionally. During the first three months a baby is not supposed to be bathed other than in the milk of the mother. It is the customary thing to see babies with a thick crust upon the head, the result of filth. Their bodies are often peppered with the bites of vermin, especially fleas and body lice.

The baby is carried on the back of the mother or sister. Many times a little girl scarcely more than four or five years of age will be carrying a baby on her back. They are very proud to do this. There is no particular thing used for a carrying cloth in Kabylia. The baby is tied on with an old *thakendourth,* head-handkerchief, or any piece of cloth which is strong enough. The child is placed on the back, with the center of the cloth at the center of the child's back. Each end is brought forward just a little below the shoulders of the person carrying the child and tied in a square knot just above the breasts. Women are often seen working in the fields or gathering olives with babies so tied upon their backs. Little girls run about the village carrying the babies on their backs; sometimes very big children, especially if they are boys, are carried.

The children growing up in the crowded conditions of the Kabyle hut and in the village where they see and hear everything very early learn of what we might call the intimate things of life, as in all primitive society. A French doctor once said that from his experiences in dealing with the Kabyle boys he did not believe that there was one "pure" boy after the age of seven. As in many other primitive societies, the sex problems loom large among these people.

Although the woman has an inferior position in the home and in the family she does wield a tremendous influence. Much of the education of the children is carried on by her—often

unintentionally on her part. It is not uncommon to hear men who have had some education complaining of their wives saying that they do not know how to care properly for the children.

The mother molds the character of her children as she cares for them day by day. In this way her influence upon them is important. Uneducated, a slave of custom, an enemy of progress, she builds into her children a resistance to change which is disastrous. Her inferior position has made her a blind force which resists progress in her race.[60]

Education outside the home is almost exclusively for boys. French government schools have been established in many parts of Kabylia. As yet there are not enough schools to care for all the boys who are of school age. Wherever schools are found education is compulsory up to the capacity of the school. In some of the schools there are French teachers, in others Kabyle teachers. The Kabyle teachers are now required to have normal training.

Real progress is seen in the village life wherever progressive teachers are found. These teachers try to understand the native mind, and are interested in the welfare of the people and their homes. In the government schools all education is in French. On the whole the Kabyles are quick to learn. They have remarkable memories and can memorize large quantities of material in a short time.

Memory plays a much more important part in the untrained mind than it does in our mental life.[61] In mathematics most of the Kabyles seem to have their greatest difficulty. Yet, when it comes to making oral calculations for trade at market they always do it very accurately. School is held five days a week in Kabylia, Sunday being a holiday, and the other free day being market day in the vicinity.

A few of the boys who pass "Certificate d'Etude" (equivalent to the eighth grade examinations) receive scholarships to continue school. Some have attended high school and passed the competitive examinations for the Normal School, from which they have been graduated and given teaching positions. Some have attended trade schools, others agricultural schools. There are many opportunities for boys to have higher education.

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[60] Bousquet-Lefèvre, op. cit., pp. 104-105.

[61] Lévy-Bruhl, L., *How Natives Think*, p. 109.

However, without a scholarship it is often impossible for them to continue. Some find that without any support from their poor family at home they cannot go on; some become so homesick that they soon return home; others have no interest in going on; others are kept from continuing by ignorant parents.

The educational program for boys in rural Kabylia is very similar to that given in the urban centers of North Africa. A few changes have been made in an attempt to meet the needs of the people, but more changes are needed. At present the educational program is too concerned with the students as individuals. It ignores the group solidarity of the Kabyle family and village life. As yet the schools in Kabylia have not been the potent factor in changing village life which many have hoped they would be.

To reach the age when he may go to market is indeed a great occasion for the Kabyle boy. There is no fixed age at which the boy is declared old enough to attend market. That is left to the discretion of the individual's parents. The boys are often found in the meeting places of the men of the village, listening to their conversations. Some of the boys also attend the Koranic school.

The boys and girls mingle more or less freely while very young, but soon the girls are looked upon askance if they play with the boys. It is amazing how much influence even small boys have over their sisters. It was found in one Mission school that some girls were not attending because their brothers did not wish them to do so. The cooperation of the French school master was obtained and he was able to show the boys how proud they should be to have their sisters in school. Appealing thus to their pride, the boys soon had their sisters back in school.

For the girls there are as yet few schools. Only in the most progressive part of Kabylia have any government schools been established for them. Wherever there is a school for girls attendance is as yet voluntary. In one village in Little Kabylia a few of the more progressive men were anxious for a school, and, not having their wish granted by the government, the progressive French school master took a few girls into his boys' school. This was a forward step for the village people.

When the fathers are convinced that education is advisable they exert an influence not only in getting the girls to school

but in keeping them there regularly. Consequently, a Mission school held a session to which the fathers, elders of the village, the *amins* and the *Caid* were invited. Though it was held during harvest time, the men turned out in goodly numbers. Class periods were held, composition books, knitting, sewing and other work of the children were on exhibition. It was a revelation to the fathers to see what their daughters, always considered to be of so little value except to be sold in marriage, were capable of doing.

The French government had a very forward-looking educational program outlined for Kabylia which would not only have put more schools in the mountains for the boys, but would at the same time have inaugurated many schools for girls. This program was planned before World War I. But economic conditions following the war made it impossible to carry out the plans. Plans are now under way for the opening of more schools as soon as possible after the present war is over.

The establishment of Mission schools in Kabylia is not easy. The government must be petitioned for permission to open a school. This permission may be refused without any reason being given. All depends upon the attitude of the party in power. When the permission is obtained (if it is), it carries with it certain specifications that must be met. The teacher in charge of the school must be French and have French diplomas. The school must follow the regular curriculum of study. The children may be presented for the government examinations if they meet the requirements for such examinations.

At home the mother teaches her daughters what she thinks they need to know for marriage—cooking, weaving, spinning. When still very small the girl begins to carry water from the fountain. How proud she is when she is big enough to have a water jar strapped to her back.

One thing which often strikes a visitor to Kabylia is the lack of games. The boys play certain gambling games with stones and buttons. They tie stones in a rag and kick this if they can find a smooth enough place on the mountain side. They are very loathe to learn games which are new to them. They like marble games and when croquet was introduced near one village it proved to be a great attraction for both boys and girls. Both in teaching the children to play and in observing them at their play it is possible to note many important traits in their

life. The boys hit the ball without paying any attention to the direction in which they are sending it. When they find that it goes far from the place they intended to knock it, they shrug their shoulders and say, *"Am ibra Sidi Rebbi"* (As God wills). It takes a long time to get boys of differing villages to be willing to play together as partners. They are always ready to be opponents, but not to play together. In this they demonstrate their village solidarity. The girls, and sometimes the boys, run after their balls when they want them to stop, shouting, *"Shola"* (an expression used to stop a donkey).

The girls play with *osselets* (sheep knuckles). This game is played in the same manner as the Samoan girls play with jack stones.[62]

In the game with the *osselets* the side of the knuckle having the depression is called the "valley" and the side having the bulge is called the "mountain." Part of the game is to turn the knuckles so that all the "valleys" are up, while the one is being tossed into the air and caught. Or the "mountains" may all be turned while the one knuckle is being tossed and caught. There are many variations and combinations which make the game last a long time. The children's fingers are very nimble and move like lightning as they play.

The girls make dolls by using two short straight sticks placed at right angles and tied together. Bits of material from old clothes are used to cut the dresses like those they themselves wear. Several of these dresses, as many as six or eight, may be put on the doll and a little yarn taken from the child's own belt is wrapped around the doll's waist to serve as a belt. In order to make the doll more realistic sometimes the child will cut off a lock of her own hair and stick it on the head of the doll. From a piece of rag a head-handkerchief is made. Make-up materials may make the face of the doll more attractive. A small thin rag pulled through the sleeves of the dress make the arms. Occasionally, a generous father will buy a European doll for his daughter. It is a great event when one of these arrives in a village. It is usually brought out only for very special events.

The girls chant in monotones many of the happenings of the village. Sometimes while they chant they hop and clap their hands upon their upper legs. Close attention should be

[62] Lowie, op. cit., p. 163.

paid to these chants, as the girls hop quickly and lithely over the stony paths, for they may reveal some illuminating facts of village life. One time, as a group of girls was on the way home from school, some of them stopped in one of the court yards where the women were making pottery. In their play the children accidently knocked over and broke a water jar. One of the women chased the children. All escaped except the tiny four year old. The woman caught this child and in her anger threw the little one against a stone wall. The child's ribs were broken and she was injured internally so that she died the following day. The murderess came from an influential family. Her father paid the Kabyle officer one thousand francs to hush the crime. The children knew this and went about the village chanting the whole story as they hopped.

The boy reaches his majority when he keeps Ramadan for four successive years, pays his fee to the djemâa, and becomes a member of that body. In the eyes of the Kabyle there is no age of majority for a girl since she is always under the authority of her nearest male relative.

At the time of a death the solidarity of the village is again manifested. The women scream until they are so hoarse they cannot speak. They scratch their faces, often bringing the blood, and tear their hair. The Kabyles have a profound respect for their dead and the whole village is supposed to turn out for a funeral. According to a Kabyle *kanoun* one may be fined for failure to attend a funeral even though the deceased may not be a relative. As soon as death occurs the *amin* is informed and gives the orders as to what men in the village are to be responsible for digging the grave. This is an obligation falling upon all men in turn and must be performed when the *amin* so designates.

Burial takes place as soon as possible after death. No embalming measures are used. The body is wrapped in a shroud, placed on a rough stretcher and carried on the shoulders of the men to the place of burial. One of the most desolate places in Kabylia is the cemetery. The marabout recites the *fatiha* and the body is placed in the shallow grave, the earth and stone are thrown in, barbary fig cactus is planted on the top, and a small water jar is placed on the grave.

No social distinctions are seen in the burial of the poor and the rich. They all have the same kind of a funeral. The ex-

penses for the funeral of an indigent are paid by the djemâa. The villages are under obligation to assist at his funeral the same as for any one else in the village.

The funeral over, the feasting begins. A large cous-cous dinner is served in the home of the deceased. The Kabyles seem to recover from their grief very quickly. They are in anguish for a few hours, then it all seems to be over and they take up their normal work again.

It has already been seen that the women of Kabylia have no right of choice in marriage and divorce in the eyes of the Kabyle law. The woman lives in such a strongly patriarchal society that it is not hard to understand that she has no succession rights. The Kabyle woman has no right to inherit. For a long time the Kabyles faithfully followed, at least in appearance, the prescriptions of Moslem law in regard to succession rights, and women were admitted to a part in the inheritance in the proportion established by the Koran. But this obedience to the letter of the law was only a mistaken appearance. The Kabyle spirit was unwilling to admit that a woman should have command of the land which she was incapable of defending and which she was believed to be incapable of cultivating.

When the father did not resort to the pious fraud of *h'abous*[63] in order to rob in advance the women of his family, his death brought violent quarrels among the male heirs, which often degenerated into armed conflict. The women who had thoughtlessly wasted their part of the heritage or who allowed their husbands to devour it, found that their families did not wish to provide them with protection and support. Their pleas for help were answered by the family with the saying that their right was "used up." Under these conditions the greater part preferred to renounce the benefit of the Moslem law in order to be assured of their place and care in the home of the family and to keep the good will of their near relatives. Persuaded that they would not make worse the position of women by returning to their ancient customs, which the Koran had

[63] *H'abous* is the word used among the *Malikis* for what is known in Qur'anic law as *Wakf*. By this is meant that a thing while retaining its substance yields a usufruct of which the owner has surrendered his power of disposal with the stipulation that the yield be used for permitted good purposes. (Heffening, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 4, Pt. 2, p. 1096.)

upset without wiping them out, the Kabyles about 1748 A. D. assembled and decided that in the future the women would have no more a legal place in the succession right of males, that is to say, "no more right to property on earth." At the same time the *h'abous,* which had been such an effective weapon in keeping succession rights away from women, fell into disuse, and property struck by *mortmain* became free in the hands of the possessors.[64]

Here is another instance which shows that laws, unacceptable to the people, cannot be successfully forced upon them. After centuries of being unable to enforce the Koranic law which did not have the approval of the people, they returned to their very ancient customary law which, though giving the woman no inheritance rights, does provide for her care and support.

The Kabyles saw in their attempts to evade the Koranic law a force that was disrupting family solidarity. The return to their own customary laws meant a strengthening of this solidarity once again.

The Kabyles used the primitive custom of placing a stone upon a stone to seal this pact, which was a triumph of the old Kabyle spirit over the Moslem law. The stone memorializing this return to ancient Kabyle custom is still intact today at Djemâa Sahridj. In fact it is zealously guarded. A few years ago a group of French students while visiting in Kabylia saw this stone. When told what it symbolized the students overturned the top stone. This caused consternation in the village. The men were called together and replaced it.

Many of the tribes have a *kanoun* saying that the women do not inherit, and that the succession rights are not divided according to Moslem law. This one from the Aït Flick is typical:

> Our women do not inherit; our ancestors decided it thus and we approve their decision.[65]

Although women have no inheritance rights most of the Kabyle *kanoun* do give them the right of material support until remarriage or death. The following laws are examples of this:

> If a man when dying leaves daughters, sisters, a wife, etc., the heirs cannot sell and must conserve for the women who will leave the house of the defunct, an irrigated gar-

[64] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 282-283.
[65] Ibid, Vol. III, p. 435.

> den, a garden of artichokes, the best acorn tree, and olives, all this property is destined to nourish and support the women who will return to live in the home of their parents.[66]

They (the women) have the right to food and clothing.[67]

The French law has tried to intercede in behalf of the succession rights of the women among the Kabyles, but here they have not been as successful as in the fixing of the age of marriage for the girl. French legislation passed May 19, 1931, was designed to react against the principle of no inheritance rights for the woman. It reads as follows:

> Il est reconnu à la veuve dans la succession do son mari, à la fille dans la succession de son père et dans celle de sa mère, à la petite fille, née du fils, en absence de succession de premier degre, dans la succession de son grand-père paternal et dans celle de sa grand'mère paternelle, un droit d'usufruit dont la quotite est fixée ainsi qui'il suit:"
>
> (The right of usufruct is recognized for the widow in the succession of her husband, for the daughter in the succession of her father and of her mother, and to the granddaughter born of the son, in the absence of a succession of the first degrees, in the succession of her paternal grandfather and of her paternal grandmother: the proportion is fixed as follows:)

Then follow the proportions which coincide closely with those in the Koranic law. It is to be noted that this law does not give the woman a part in the property but only the right of usufruct. Also, that the sister, mother and other close relatives are not included as they are under Kabyle law which gives the right of maintenance to women in the family. In criticizing this law Bousquet-Lefèvre says:

> It is extremely complex and difficult to work in regard to the populations for which it is destined. It does not bring even in principle, to the woman, all the advantages which one had a right to expect from it.[68]

In the question of the inheritance rights of women, the very heart of Kabyle family and social life is vitally concerned. When

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[66] Ibid, pp. 386, 387.
[67] Ibid, p. 414.
[68] Bousquet-Lefèvre, op. cit., pp. 164-173.

it is attacked, the most solid and deep-rooted principles are affected: the patriarchal right and the privilege of males. This decree, which the French legislators had hoped would better the condition of the women of Kabylia and which does not bring as radical changes as it might have, probably came to the people before they were ready for it, before there was enough public opinion to demand a change, and the result is that it has not yet succeeded in making its impact upon the deep-rooted Kabyle customary law.[69] As has already been said legislation cannot be forced. The reaction of the Kabyles to this French law is similar to their reaction to the Koranic law.

The Kabyles are a most hospitable people and no matter how poor they are, will share with others who may be their guests. The hospitality of the mosque or the *djemâa* is never refused to strangers or travellers who may wish to lodge there, nor to the poor who temporarily may find themselves without a shelter. There are times when many guests may be in the village—as on the occasion of a marriage, a funeral, or a circumcision. It is the duty of the *amin* to see that the guests are given hospitality. He specifies who in the village is to render this service. In different villages different methods are used in determining who is to be responsible and when for such entertaining. The important thing is that the guests are always placed under the *anaïa* of the village and to have anything happen to them would be a blow to the *h'orma* of the village.

The Moslem, too, emphasizes hospitality. Tradition credits the Prophet with saying: "Whoever believes in God and the day of resurrection must respect his guest; and the time of being kind to him is one day and one night; and the period of entertaining him is three days; and after that, if he does it longer, he benefits him more; but it is not right for a guest to stay in the house of the host so long as to incommode him.[70]

The spirit of solidarity is again demonstrated in the *thimecheret'*. This is a distribution of meat. Sometimes enough funds accumulate in the *djemâa* to allow such a distribution. At other times a collection is made, each giving what he can. The *amin* has the responsibility for buying the animal to be killed and sees to the distribution. Usually an equal part goes

[69] Ibid, p. 174.

[70] Westermarck, Edward, *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation*, by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, p. 75.

to each person in the village, including new born babies. If it is a *thimecheret'* for some one who has died, even that person is counted in the number of his family at the distribution. The *thimecheret'* provides a means of having meat for very poor families from time to time who otherwise would have it very infrequently. When the people wish to appease the anger of God or ask a favor of him, whether their pleas be for rain, sun, the stoppage of an epidemic, or a disease, or to stay a blight on their fruit trees,—the prayer is prepared by a *thimecheret'*.[71]

Every society has certain checks—sometimes they are developed by public opinion, sometimes through moral teachings. There are certain checks in Kabyle society, too. There are no prisons in Kabylia, no police to enforce the will of the *djemâa*. The only kind of punishment is through fines or death. The death check has been removed from the hands of the Kabyles by French law, but it is still used in some instances—as for the punishment of adultery, even though it is forbidden. One of the most important checks upon society in Kabylia is the *anaïa*. By this is meant the protection accorded to one or several people, by an individual, a political party, a village, or a tribe. If a person has given *anaïa* to another and finds he cannot make it to be respected alone, he imposes the same obligations on his family, or if a larger group is needed, on his *kharouba*, or if a still more influential group is needed, on his political party, his village, or his tribe.

The violation of their *anaïa* is the most serious injury that can be inflicted upon the Kabyles. A man who violated or broke the *anaïa* of his village or of his tribe, was punished in former times by death, and by the confiscation of all his goods, and his house is demolished.[72]

The *anaïa* is a veritable political institution.[73] Every Kabyle has the right to ask *anaïa* if the need arises but it is expected that he will not abuse this privilege of asking. The *anaïa* of the *djemâa* is only given in general assembly, after deliberation. It is most often asked by the Kabyle against whom there exists a blood debt, or by the stranger who has escaped by flight from capital punishment, or by someone who has been banished.[74]

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[71] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 53.
[72] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 61-62.
[73] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 78.
[74] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 107.

> Typical primitives respond to a given occurrence in terms, not of abstract justice or the common good, but of personal relations. There is a collective solidarity and responsibility of kin. If a person is killed, his family or clan clamor for revenge, and the culprit's kin protect him irrespective of his guilt or innocence. The aggrieved party holds the offender's kin responsible as a body and may be content to kill any member of that group. Thus reprisals back and forth may last for years.[75]

In *rek'ba* (blood revenge) is seen in Kabylia this personal responsibility among members of the same family for each other. The desire for reprisals, for vengeance, is very strong. The law which demands a head for a head, and a victim having the same value as its dead, is the law of *rek'ba*. The *thamegueret* or *rek'ba* is the debt of blood contracted by the family of him who in a time of peace has committed homicide, against the family of the guilty.

According to the strictness of Kabyle customs, every act of man which brings death to an individual carries *rek'ba*. It does not matter if the victim died following an imprudence or awkwardness, or if he perished in the flames of a fire, or even if he was attacked at the time of doing a crime. A murder, even involuntarily committed by a woman, brings *rek'ba* against the men of her family if the victim was a man, against the women if a woman died. In case of infanticide, if the woman sacrificed the child against the will of her husband, *rek'ba* exists to his profit and that of his family against the family of the wife and falls upon the men or the women according to the sex of the child. If the infanticide is comitted with the consent of the husband, the *djemâa* imposes a fine and there is no *rek'ba*.[76]

Whenever a murder has occurred, the family of the victim gathers immediately after the burial and among themselves names the one in the family of the murderer who is to be the victim of *rek'ba*. It may take a long time before the victim pays the price or it may be only a short time. Seriously wounding the victim is not enough; death must be met by death. The Moslems have a transaction by which *rek'ba* may be settled by a money payment as *dīa*. The family of the murderer pays in money or in beasts a stipulated sum according to the damage

[75] Lowie, op. cit., p. 287.
[76] Hanoteau, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 63, 64.

done.[77] This arrangement does not exist among the Kabyles. For them it is a head for a head.

French law has intervened to stop the practice of *rek'ba* by placing all criminal cases in the hands of the French courts. Although blood revenge is now forbidden by French law, the Kabyles still practice it. In a meeting of Kabyles held a few years ago, some of the men told of the blood-revenge victims in their own families or among people they had known. Some of these feuds had been going on for many years and had claimed numerous victims from both sides. Custom is stronger than legal procedure.[78] *Rek'ba* still claims its victims, although not so many as in former times.

Another interesting custom is that which gives the right of reprisal to whoever has suffered a wrong from a stranger. This is known as *thoutchith* or *ousiga,* meaning that the stranger has "eaten something." It is here that the village intervenes to protect its members just as a European power may to safeguard the interests of its nationals. The difference lies in the barbarous and primitive law which is the prerogative of the wronged Kabyle to bring justice to himself by himself committing violence.[79]

Another important check is that of *h'orma* (honor). Public opinion in Kabylia brings pressure to bear upon people to hold sacred the *h'orma* of the village. To violate the village *h'orma* brings disgrace not only to the individual who is guilty, but reflects upon his family and the whole village.

In the social institutions of the Kabyle Letourneux is very pessimistic as to any change that will be possible under French influence. He says:

> Very often the assimilation of the Kabyle people to the French is spoken of as a thing relatively easy. It appears to me that the servile subjection of the Kabyle woman is an almost insurmountable obstacle to this dream of fusion.[80]

True, the Kabyle woman in subjection is a real obstacle to change, but some of the girls are being educated and even in one generation, where this has occurred, marked change has

[77] Martin, A. G. P., *Prècis de Sociologie Nord Africaine,* Part II, p. 111.
[78] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 86.
[79] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 86.
[80] Letourneaux, Ch., *The Evolution of Marriage and of the Family,* by permission Charles Scribner's Sons, publishers, p. 148.

taken place. These educated girls married to educated men, are maintaining happy, clean, well kept homes. Some of them are influential leaders in community life. They mingle with Europeans, dress as Europeans and in most cases use French as the language for their families.

The influence of this educated group is not making much impact upon the older generation, nor even the present one living in isolation in the mountains for most of the educated young people have established their homes in the cities. Change has taken place most rapidly among those who have left their mountain villages to live in the cities, to be educated there, and to mingle more with Europeans than with the indigenous populations.

This is the group that is often anxious to have legislation passed to better the conditions of their families in the mountains. But, also, they do not always realize what a great gulf exists between themselves and their isolated mountain relatives. The two groups misunderstand each other, or are antagonistic. What the educated group would like to accomplish by legislation can only be accomplished by sympathy, education and understanding, through a process which will be slow and difficult.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE KABYLES

THE Kabyles before the French conquered the country had a form of government which was "one of the most democratic and, at the same time, one of the simplest that can be imagined." [1] Each *thaddarth* (village) was an independent, autonomous unit, administering its own affairs, making its own laws, naming its own officials. This system of self government was carried on in a more complete and radical way, and at the same time with a smaller number of officials and with less government expense, than perhaps anywhere else where democracy has been practiced.[2]

Fitzgerald feels that this type of government is well suited to the needs of sedentary agriculturists.[3] The village may be very small, consisting of few families only, or it may be large, composed of hundreds of families. Whatever the size, each *thaddarth* is a republic in itself. These small democratic communities, in which the will of the people is the sole governing authority, are the result of an "inborn love of independence, an instinct for the value of individuals joined to the conviction that individuals prosper only when united by bonds of sympathy and mutual assistance." [4]

A group of two or more villages forms an *ârch* (from the Arabic word عرش usually translated as "tribe"). The ties which bind the villages into such a unit may be political or administrative. The joining of several such units into a confederation is called a *thaqbilt* (Kabyle form of the Arabic word قبيلة usually translated as "confederation").[5] The wider the circle of federation among the Kabyles, the looser the cords that bind it together.

Sometimes there are hamlets which are too small or too weak to remain isolated and to be administered separately. These may unite under a common political unit. The uniting of such

[1] Hanoteau, A. et Letourneux, A., *La Kabylie et Les Coutumes Kabyles*, Vol. II, p. 1.

[2] Idem.

[3] Fitzgerald, W., *Africa*, p. 133.

[4] Randall-MacIver, D., and Wilkin, A., *Libyan Notes*, p. 15.

[5] Hanoteau, A. et Letourneux, A., op. cit.

hamlets forms a *toufik* (from the Arabic word وفق which in the sixth form of the verb means "to place in accord"). This is administered as an ordinary village.[6]

The village is divided into parts called *kharouba* (from the Arabic word خروبة meaning "pod of the carob tree"). The *kharouba* is composed of families which are usually united by parental ties and have the same origin. But the *kharouba*, though it is sometimes formed exclusively of members of one family, or composed of families with blood-bonds, may also include strange families who have moved into that section of the village, or people who have no relatives.[7] However, in all probability in early times the *kharouba* began as a family group.

The village is the most important unit in Kabyle life. It is sometimes called "the corner stone of Kabyle society." [8]

The spirit of independence which is so characteristic of the village government of the Kabyle, is the same spirit that dominates all his thinking, all his actions, all his life. To understand this spirit thoroughly is one of the imperatives in an approach to the Kabyles and in the building of a missionary program which will be effective among them. One writer, emphasizing this democratic spirit has said that "it may well have been this democratic spirit, inherited by his European descendants, that enabled the western nations to take the lead in the onward movement of humanity." [9]

The governing body of the village is known as the *djemâa* (from the Arabic word جمعة usually translated "assembly, united," the Kabyle form of this word being *thadjemaïth*). In former days the *djemâa* had great power. All males of the village had the right of franchise and were members of the *djemâa*. A stranger, no matter what his origin, might become a citizen with the consent of the *djemâa* and the payment of an admittance fee.[10] No stranger could remain in a village without having himself incorporated into the *djemâa*.[11] Boys received the franchise at the time when they became old enough to ob-

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[6] Ibid, p. 5.

[7] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 6.

[8] Ibid, p. 7.

[9] Keane, A. H., *Man: Past and Present*, University Press, Cambridge; by permission of The Macmillan Company, p. 472.

[10] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 139.

[11] Ibid, p. 140.

serve *Ramadan* (Moslem fast). There is no fixed age for this among the Kabyles. It takes place during the teens.

> Children who have observed the fast during three successive years will be the fourth year admitted into the assembly.[12]
>
> The man who is married or who has observed the fast of Ramadan for three successive years, and who has formulated the desire to enter the assembly, must pay a half *douro* (Fr. 2.50) to the village to which he belongs.[13]

The *djemâa* convened once a week. The assembly was often held in the open but in case of inclement weather or excessive heat, the meeting was held in an enclosure called the *Djemâa*, a building similar to the village huts, made of stone and mud, having a tile roof, and stone benches around the walls where the men may be seated.

The *amin* presided over the sessions of the *djemâa* which were always both opened and closed with the reading of the *Fatiha*. The *djemâa* finished its session by sundown.[14] The *amin* presented whatever business was to come before the assembly and the members were then free to express their opinions. The *djemâa* still meets and transacts local business. Although the Kabyle is a lover of independence and although the Kabyle form of government is called democratic, nevertheless, all do not take an active part. It is the elders of the village, the heads of families, the influential men who speak. This does not mean that the others have not the right to speak; all have the right but in practice it is exercised only by the elders and men of influence.

The *djemâa* levies local taxes, modifies local customs, administers public charity, and formerly declared war and made peace.[15] In short, any matter, large or small, which in any way affects the welfare of the village is the concern of the *djemâa*, even though this demand encroachment upon the private life of the villagers. Not only is it a legislative body, it is also a judicial body, exercising judgment in civil cases and formerly

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[12] Bernard, A. et Milliot, L., *Les Qânoûns Kabyles, Revue des Études* Islamiques, 1933, p. 39, No. 2.

[13] Ibid, p. 42, No. 19.

[14] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 319 (note: "Solis occasus suprema tempestus esto," Law of the 12 Tables).

[15] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, p. 601a.

in criminal cases. Under French rule, the administration of penal law has been taken away from the *djemâa.*

The *djemâa* does not act in all matters where a decision is necessary. Matters concerning two or more individuals but not involving the public order are delegated to judge-arbitrators. The *amin* and *âkal* supervise and preside at these debates.

In delegating this power of arbitration to neutral parties the *djemâa* seeks to preserve itself from disrupting influences. The *çofs* (political parties) are often guilty of bringing such discord by upholding one side in an argument.[16] The *djemâa* has always sought to keep free of any force that might disrupt it. No written account is kept of the proceedings.

In all matters of importance coming before the *djemâa* a unanimous decision is required. No matter how small the minority may be, its opinion is always respected. The reason for this will become clear when the political parties are discussed for the minority may belong to the more powerful political group. If unanimity does not prevail, the assembly may adjourn without reaching a decision and the matter may be revived at a later date, or, as often happens, ultimately abandoned. If a prompt decision is necessary, the chief men of the tribe may make the decision or it may be referred to the *djemâa* of another village, or to some individual arbiter belonging to their own or another village in whom both sides have confidence.[17]

The power of the *djemâa* is limited by the influence of the strongest and oldest members, by the political parties, by the unwritten law and custom of the village, and by certain collective guarantees that may involve several villages.

Attendance at the assembly of the *djemâa* is obligatory upon all members. "When the *amin* invites the men of the village to come to assist at the assembly, if one of them withdraws to take care of his personal affairs he will be fined." This is one of the laws of the *kanoun.*[18] When the men have assembled each *t'amen* takes the roll call of his *kharouba,* makes note of the absentees and gives the account to the *amin.*[19]

When speaking each one remains seated and says what he

[16] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 5, 6.
[17] Randall-MacIver, op. cit., p. 18.
[18] Bernard, A. et Milliot, L., op. cit., p. 38, No. 32.
[19] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 21.

has to say. However, each one must always show proper respect for the *djemâa*. There is a doura fine for whoever lacks respect at the assembly of the *djemâa*.[20]

The chief officer of the village, both executive and presiding is the *amin*. (From the Arabic word امين usually translated as "trustworthy." As a noun it means "he to whom something is confided"). The Kabyle words which are sometimes used for the *amin* are *amoqran* meaning "the great one," the "chief," or *amrâr*, meaning "the elder," the "aged one." The *amin* is often called the *ameksa*, the "shepherd" of the village. In most places, however, the Arabic term—*amin*—is used.

The *amin* must be a citizen of the village he is to serve, and also must have his residence there. One very peculiar arrangement in Kabyle politics allows for double citizenship. That is, a man finding it to his advantage, in order to have double protection, takes citizenship rights in a second *djemâa*. This can be done by paying the tax imposed upon strangers who wish to establish themselves there. He accepts the responsibilities of citizenship in the second village just as in the first and has all the prerogatives of the people of each village. But he can only be the *amin* in the village in which he lives.

All Kabyles have the right to be *amin* but custom is stronger than this democratic principle and unwritten stipulations are strictly observed in the choice of the *amin*. He will of course need the support of a strong *çof*, must have the respect of his fellow citizens, come from an influential family and possess enough wealth to support his position adequately.[21]

The *amin* presides over the sessions of the *djemâa*. As executive officer he carries out the decisions of the *djemâa*. He does not exercise any independence or initiative, except in small matters relating to the maintenance of order.[22] If there is some disorder in the village, such as a theft, it is sometimes possible for the *amin* to investigate this. If in some matter the *amin* does issue an order, this is carried out without question by the people, no matter how inconvenient it may be for them to do so.

For instance, the *amin* of A——— presented himself at a mission station one day to say that the men of the village would use their donkeys to haul, free of charge, some sixty loads

[20] Bernard, A. et Milliot, L., op. cit., p. 34, No. 34.
[21] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 26.
[22] Randall-MacIver, op. cit., p. 19.

of sand which were needed for repairs on a room occupied by the girls' school. The *amin* asked what day the sand was needed and on that day gave orders to all the men of the village who owned donkeys to haul it. Without any question or protest his order was carried out. In all probability, however, the *amin* had consulted with his *t'emman* and knew the consensus of opinion in the village before making his gracious offer to the mission.

The *amin* collects fines imposed by the *djemâa* and in certain small matters has the right to levy fines. Through his *t'emman* he must keep himself informed concerning all the happenings of the village and must conduct all investigations necessary for his reports to the *djemâa.*

Before matters are submitted to the *djemâa* for public discussion they are examined by a "limited *djemâa*" which usually consists of elders, marabouts, *âkal* (from the Arabic word عقل usually translated as "spirit" or "reason" and used by the Kabyles to mean the "wise" or "learned men"), *çof* chiefs, *t'emman* and other influential people. This small group, when agreeing upon a question before it comes before the *djemâa* is so influential that the presenting of the matter for final approval is only a simple formality. Smaller matters occasionally are decided by the "little" *djemâa.*[23] This is an example of a small, influential group, which, because of birth, wealth, or public opinion, exerts tremendous power in the village affairs. It would seem to be the rule of the few, in spite of the Kabyle's love for independence. Yet, the *djemâa* does have the right to over-ride the opinion of the little *djemâa* if it so desires. Thus the principle of democracy is maintained.

Since the *amin* must depend always upon the help and support of his *t'emman,* he must needs choose them wisely. In a country like Kabylia where jealousies are always rife, where the violation of the village honor is a grave offense, where pride is so strong and where men of incontestable authority are a necessary choice, it is little wonder that a Kabyle proverb says, "A good *amin* is recognized by the judicious choice he makes of his *t'emman.*" [24]

Another important function of the *amin* is serving as administrator of all community property. He sees to the upkeep of

[23] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 24.
[24] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 27.

said property, sells when authorized, and makes proposals for the disposition of funds in his possession.[25] When workers are needed to carry out some piece of communal work—roads, fountains, digging of graves, repairs at the mosque—it is the *amin* who names the men who are to do this work. No matter how badly a piece of work needs to be done, the men will not usually make any move to do it, until so ordered by the *amin*. The water for the village of A——— was supplied from a Mission in that vicinity. The *amin* promised that he would send men each week to clean the gutter which carries away the overflow of water. As the women frequently threw waste into the gutter it often became very dirty, yet the men did not come regularly to do the work. A special request had always to be made. When this was done, the *amin* always sent men to do the work. But keeping the gutter clean was not something which interested the *amin*.

The functions of the *amin* in dispensing hospitality and in the division of the *thimecheret'* have already been described.

Today the *amin* is a liaison officer for the French government. He is often asked to furnish information regarding crimes or other happenings in the village. This does not mean that he will always furnish accurate information for if the guilty ones are members of his own political party their pressure and influence may keep him silent as to the crime or make it impossible for him to collect the information needed. He also assists the *Caid* distribute the tax papers and legal summons for the government.

The *amin* does not usually express any special interest in the betterment of the village. In one village which was without water the *djemâa* finally decided to dig a well. It was very doubtful if water would be found. But the well was started, each man doing his share of the digging. When the rainy season came and water had not been found the project was abandoned, nor did the *amin* ever interest himself in having it continued.

The fact that a man is the *amin* of the village does not necessarily mean that he is the most progressive man in the vicinity. On the contrary; he may be so little interested in education that he does not even send his girls to school when a school is available; so little interested in medical care that his children are in a deplorable physical condition; so little interested in

[25] Idem.

sanitation that his home is one of the filthiest in the village. The *amin* may not be superior to his fellow villagers in intelligence, ideas or ideals. He is one of them. Though any man has the right to be *amin,* the one to fill this office is always chosen from one of the influential families, and who claims the support of a strong *çof.* He receives no salary.

> He is not elected by popular suffrage but is chosen by the influential persons of the village in consultation with the heads of families. These submit their choice to the djemâa, which, since its guiding members are the same as those who have already expressed their approval by agreeing to the nomination, commonly ratifies the appointment though it sometimes exercises its right of rejection. In such an eventuality recourse is had to arbitration, as in the other cases described where the djemâa failed to agree upon any matter of importance. [26]

When the choice of *amin* has finally been made the notables wait upon the newly elected man to make known to him the decision and to ask him to accept the functions for which he has been named. He does not at first yield but declines the distinction with which he is being honored. Sometimes the resistance is feigned but is soon overcome. On the other hand, sometimes it is necessary to call the marabouts and the women who go at night and plead in the name of the public good for him not to leave the people without a shepherd. Before accepting he states the conditions of his rule, and, if these are acceptable to the people, he consents to become *amin.* The *djemâa* is then convoked, the notables usher in the future *amin,* eloquently tell of his qualifications and ask the assembly to accept him for *amin.* The answer is given by unanimous acclamation. The *Fatiha* is recited over the new *amin.* He expresses his thanks and at once assumes his responsibilities. The *amin,* upon being installed, usually makes a distribution of meat to the people, in celebration of the joyous occasion. If he is rich, he pays a large part of the expenses of the feast himself, if not, the entire expenses are paid by the village.[27]

In many matters today the *amin* is under the supervision of the Caïd who is directly under the French government. This

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[26] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 30-32.
[27] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 32, 33.

means that the *amin* is sometimes carrying out the directions from the Caïd and sometimes acting for the *djemâa*. A conscientious, alert *amin* who takes his office seriously, who is tactful in his handling of village difficulties, who is aware of the needs of his village,—such as property repairs, water, roads, and many other similar matters,—can be a real leader in the betterment of his village.

In each *kharouba* the *amin* has a *t'amen* (from the Arabic word قامن with a change of the ق to ط, a mutation that is frequent when Arabic is changed to Kabyle. It is usually translated "caution" or "responsibility"). The *t'emman,* so carefully chosen by the *amin,* are his assistants. Like the *amin* they receive no salary. They are directly responsible to the *amin* for what takes place in their *kharouba* and must keep him informed on all matters pertinent to the welfare of the village. The members of the *kharouba* look to their *t'amen* as their defender and protector. He watches carefully that their interests are safeguarded in questions of taxes, labor, or hospitality. He pleads for his people before the notables and in the djemâa. When in anger a man sometimes refuses to pay his fine, the *t'amen* being his guarantor will pay for him and then wait until the man's anger has subsided and he can reflect, and ask to be reimbursed. Much of the peace and order of the *kharouba* depends upon the ability of the *t'amen* to understand the problems of the district, and to keep the respect of all.[28]

A powerful influence in the life of a village and in linking groups in isolated villages is the activity of the *çofs* (sometimes spelled *sof*). Each village is divided into two political parties or *çofs*. The word means "fraternity." Piquet says that one must search for its origin in the rivalry of two families of notables.[29] These *çofs* often support the interests of influential men in the village. It is always a member of the stronger one who is chosen as *amin*. The members of a *çof* always agree among themselves to help each other whenever assistance is needed. The native adage which has been adopted by such associations is: *Ouinnek aïoun ith idhelem ner' medhloum* (assist your own in right or in wrong).[30]

[28] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 33, 34.
[29] Piquet, V., *Les Civilizations de l'Afrique du Nord,* p. 342.
[30] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 11.

In former times the strength of the *çof* was often increased by allying itself with a similar party in some other village. This did not necessarily stop with one alliance but was extended to political groups in many villages, thus forming a very powerful party.

In the village the interests of the *çof* bind its members very closely together. These interests even come before the welfare of the family. As a matter of fact, the loyalty of the Kabyle to his *çof* is to his self-interest. When the day comes that it is to his advantage to belong to the opposite party, he will abandon the one he is in and join the other. There is no point of honor in remaining always faithful to one.[31] Consequently, the membership of these groups changes frequently.

> "Sometimes weak, sometimes preponderant in the village, it undergoes all the fluctuations of individual caprice. During peaceable times, when the questions debated only offer a secondary interest the *çofs* conserve generally their composition. But when troublous times arise, and hostilities seem imminent, intrigues cross in all ways; each party tries to detach from its adversaries the doubtful men who are not irrevocably engaged by their antecedents or by family ties." [32]

Money has always been a powerful factor in helping win men from one party to another. In a country where there is such poverty as there is in Kabylia, a "few *douros,* (money), a sack of figs, some oil, or even a good dinner, is often enough to win a defender to the *çof.*" [33]

During the time that a Kabyle is a member of a particular *çof* he gives himself wholeheartedly to its interests. So deep is his passion and so loyal is his interest that the group assumes a solidarity which is almost impregnable. Strong as are the family ties for the Kabyle, the ties of the *çof* are even stronger, and if the welfare of the party or the furthering of its interests demand it, a man may even break family ties, neglect his business, or voluntarily face death. The loyalty of the *çof* to its members is carried to the family of a member who dies for one of its causes. His children are nourished and cared for by them.[34]

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[31] Randall-MacIver, op. cit., p. 17.
[32] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 12.
[33] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 12.
[34] Ibid, p. 13.

Important or influential men in the village are usually at the head of the *çof* and because of their influence direct much of its activity. Funds for the needs of the *çof* are secured by voluntary subscription. The Kabyles pay willingly what is asked; often, when it is a matter of intrigue which has been planned by the chiefs, the members do not even know how the money is to be used.[35]

Whoever is to direct the activities of the *çof* will necessarily need to be a man who has enough money to have leisure and be able to devote himself to its interests. He will need to be a man who has tact and who can maintain harmony in his group. He must have patience to listen to the complaints of all who want to bring their difficulties to him. He must be shrewd and alert to detect not only dissension in his own group but to be able to foil the enemy *çof*. He must be alert in obtaining information necessary to the welfare of his party. His duties will often make financial demands upon him to furnish hospitality to fellow members, and sometimes even to bear, himself, expenditures that are very considerable.[36]

In discussing the origin of the *çof* *Hanoteau* says that it must not be searched for in the political history, that

> "it must be searched for in the heart of man. The *çofs* have their analogues in all human agglomerations; they do not everywhere present the same aspects, because the societies where they are produced are different. If the social organization in Kabylia had offered entire security for the people and their interests, the *çof* would have been reduced without doubt to the humble rôle of coteries." [37]

In trying to trace the origin of the *çofs*, the same difficulty is met as in all other phases of the ancient history of the Kabyles —there are no written records of the life and institutions of the Kabyles. Hanoteau recounts a legend which relates that two large *çofs* were formed in the sixteenth century. Legend says that two brothers named *Bouket'ouch* and *Ourkhan* quarrelled. They became the leaders of two groups, the people being divided according to topography. One group was known as *"Oufella,"*

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[35] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 15.

[36] Ibid, p. 16.

[37] Ibid, p. 17.

the people above; the other group was known as *"Bouadda,"* the people below.[38]

The French Government is making every effort to encourage the Kabyles to become French citizens. No doubt as more Kabyles find their political interests in French Government, the influence and power of the *çofs* will decline. The fact that many of the young men leave the villages to work elsewhere means that they do not have the interest in the local political activities which were the life of their fathers. The political life fostered by the *çofs* flourished in village isolationism. As the Kabyles become more and more aware that each village is a part of the whole, and that their welfare depends upon cooperation with others, the rival political groups in the villages will no doubt grow weaker.

The statutes of the Kabyles, their customary law, are called the *kanoun* (variously spelled—kanun, qânoûn). The word is from the Greek (κανων) meaning canon, custom law.[39] The Moslems used this same term for a series of special enactments by the application of the principle of *urf*.[40] It seems to have been borrowed from the language of the primitive church.[41]

This word, which the Kabyles may have taken from the primitive church or may have taken from the Arabs, is the same root word as our English word "canon." Probably the most ancient collection of canon laws is that of the church in Africa.[42]

The *kanoun* represent the total laws enacted by the *djemâa* and are the accumulated custom of the village. The *kanoun* are not written but have been conserved in the memories of the old men who transmit them orally. The Kabyle knows intimately the customs of the village, the laws concerning inheritance, the fines imposed for various crimes. Some studies have been made of these *kanoun* in various villages in Kabylia, the best work having been done by Hanoteau.

Kabyle law is founded upon two sources: the Koran, which rules supreme upon all matters touching the faith and religious hygiene of the people, but does not regulate civil law except in

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[38] Hanoteau et Letourneux, Vol. II, pp. 18, 19.

[39] Huart, Cl., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, p. 723b.

[40] Idem, Vol. 4, p. 1031. (*Urf* represents unwritten custom as opposed to established law.)

[41] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 138.

[42] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Vol. V, p. 194.

cases where custom does not intervene. The second source is the *'aâda* (from the Arabic word عاد meaning "repeat") or customary law. This is transmitted from generation to generation by oral tradition. It applies to all that touches the personal status, the transmission of property, the conditions of contracts.[43] In fact it would be difficult to find a phase of life that is not covered by some customary law. The Kabyle has a most profound respect for this second source of law.

Sometimes, circumstances born of the very rights of the village, make modifications in the customary law necessary. Such modifications are known as *ârf* (from the Arabic word عرف usually translated "to know" or "understand"). These changes are always made locally, since each village has its own *kanoun*. When general changes in the *'aâda* (customs) are made, the *amin* calls together the people who discuss the matter. If the opinion for change is so nearly united that opposition is impossible, the decision is taken and the *Fatiha* recited. The decision is made known at the markets and in each village.[44]

Criminal law among the Kabyles was distinguished by a double character, its originality on one side, and on the other the alliance, or better, the juxtaposition of primitive private law and of progressive liberal law, of society as represented by the village.[45]

In spite of all the invasions into North Africa of other peoples, there does not seem to be among the Kabyles any imprint of a foreign penal law.[46]

A characteristic trait of Kabyle penal law was the large number of proscriptions such as distinguish a primitive civilization.[47] Also there was always a gradation of offences. For example, each act in the preparation for a crime carried with it a penalty. A man who left the village armed was fined a certain sum; if he provoked an adversary, this entailed a larger fine; if he followed his adversary outside the village, this called forth an additional fine; and thus it continued for each act until the final criminal deed was performed.[48]

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[43] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 136.
[44] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 136-138.
[45] Ibid, Vol. III, p. 56.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 57.
[48] Ibid, p. 126.

The *kanoun* is barbarous in many ways; in others it "has the delicateness and the finesse of moral sense which astonishes and which our modern legislation might envy." [49]

Perhaps Hanoteau has found one of the reasons for so many fines when he suggests that it might be attributed to the desire of the Kabyles to procure meat. Since many of the fines are used for *timecheret'*,[50] the more fines, the more meat. Since the economic status of the Kabyles makes it impossible for most of them to have meat except on rare occasions, they naturally seek a way of increasing their provision.

A few of the laws taken at random from Hanoteau et Letourneux, *La Kabylie et Les Coutumes Kabyles*, will serve to give some idea of the great variety of these *kanoun*.

> Whoever bargains for a piece of meat at the market and profits by a moment of disorder at the market to escape—one-half réal.[51] (A réal is a small piece of Spanish money equalling about 25 centimes in French money.)
>
> When an *amin* gives an order, whoever disobeys it is punished by the *amin* by a fine that can be up to two réaux.[52]
>
> Whoever comes to the aid of another who is fighting—four réaux.[53]
>
> If a poor person, a Kabyle or a marabout, of our village is fined, the person with whom he lives will pay for him.[54]
>
> When a woman takes a drug to have an abortion, if the child is a boy, the husband will have a right to exercise *rek'ba* against the male relative of the woman.[55]
>
> Whoever kills a man because of his wife does not pay anything and is not liable to punishment. The heirs of the dead man pay a fine of fifty réaux.[56]
>
> If a man has given by testament a sum to offer a repast to the village his heirs must execute his testament.[57]

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[49] Ibid, p. 58.
[50] Ibid, p. 125.
[51] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 334, No. 101.
[52] Ibid, p. 359, No. 38.
[53] Ibid, p. 387, No. 17.
[54] Ibid, p. 335, No. 120.
[55] Ibid, p. 424, No. 53.
[56] Ibid, p. 424, No. 40.
[57] Ibid, p. 365, No. 35.

> Women do not inherit, but they have the right to their clothes and to food from the property of their parents, until their death or their marriage.[58]
>
> Whoever pulls up a pomegranate or a prune tree, or a walnut, an apple tree or a fig tree, will pay Fr. 12.50 fine and Fr. 12.50 for repairs.[59]
>
> When a man takes refuge among us, if an inhabitant of the village, for money, helps his enemies to kill him, or who assists at the murder, all his goods are confiscated.[60]

Since Kabyle is not a written language the *kanoun* can only be drawn up by the marabouts in Arabic. Since the marabouts are "born enemies of custom," [61] they have not been too sympathetic to the way the Kabyle tenaciously holds to his *kanoun*.

A picture has been given of the political set-up among the Kabyles until the time of the French invasion. How much of this seems to be original and how much of it has come to them through foreign influence can best be seen by comparison with other periods in their history.

In the sixth century among the Carthaginians there was an assembly of the people. Gsell points out that all the male population of the village did not become members of the assembly at a certain age, slaves and strangers did not, nor did the native Africans. They probably were required to have a minimum of resources, to come from a family having citizenship and be of legal age.[62]

The assembly which was held in the forum was called together by the *sufetes* (Latin sufas, suffes, from the Phoenician word usually translated "judge"—the highest magistrate in Carthage). It elected the generals and probably the *sufetes*. It may have been that the candidates for these offices were proposed by the Senate. Though the people were supposed to have important prerogatives, they only exercised them upon the consent of the *sufetes* and the senate.[63] In the Carthaginian set-up there were three elements of government: the royal power, rep-

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[58] Ibid, p. 386, No. 12.

[59] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 375, No. 206.

[60] Ibid, p. 359, No. 27.

[61] Bernard, A. et Milliot, L., *Les Qânoûns Kabyles, Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1933, p. 20.

[62] Gsell, S., *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Vol. 2, pp. 226, 227.

[63] Ibid, pp. 229, 230.

resented by the *sufetes* who were in reality the magistrates; the aristocratic power, with the Senate as the medium; and lastly, the power of the people. These divisions were not equal for the power was, in practice, largely in the hands of a few of the aristocracy.[64]

This picture of the political life of Carthage in the sixth century is practically the opposite of Kabyle politics. In the Carthaginian pattern we have an aristocracy, in the Kabyle pattern a democracy. Power in Carthage was in the hands of a few influential people, power in Kabylia, though influenced by strong personalities, was nevertheless wielded by the assembly.

According to the Original Constitution of Rome the community was formed from a union of ancient clans. In the political life and duties the son was an equal to his father though subject to his father in family life. The form of government was modeled after the life of the family. A member of the community became the "leader" *(rex)* and "commander" (dictator), "master of the people" *(magister populi)* and lord of the household of the Roman Community. This king was always named by his predecessor and the burgesses only concurred after the nomination. A king ruled for life. He was the only individual with any power, having the right to appoint all officers needed to assist him in his work or to carry out some particular piece of work for him. He made treaties with foreigners, declared war and made peace, inflicted punishment, sat in judgment, commanded the army, held intercourse with the gods of the community, received and dispersed the funds of the treasury.

Yet there was a check upon his power,—a legal check. He had no right to alter the law, he could only execute it. Deviations from the law could be made only after receiving the approval of the people and the counsel of the elders. A stranger in the community could become a citizen, by adoption, upon a resolution of the community. He could either surrender his previous citizenship and pass wholly into the new community, or he could combine his former citizenship with that which had just been granted to him.

The burgesses assembled at the call of the king. However,

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[64] Ibid, p. 234.

they did not speak unless the king wished to grant them such a privilege. They came to listen to the king.

There was a third power, having no executive authority like that of the king, nor legal powers such as those of the assembly, yet co-ordinated with both, and within its own rightful sphere, placed over both,—namely, the council of the elders or *senatus*. This probably dates back to the time when each clan was under a monarchical organization, ruled by an elder. The senate then was the collective body of these clan leaders. The choice of the elders was vested in the king, and the chosen ones held office for life. In case the king died without having appointed a successor, the council of elders chose an *inter-rex* from among their own number to act, but none served for more than five days. Thus the ruling power was kept among the elders.

To the council of elders belonged the right of veto, which gave them a check upon the assembly when new legislation was being enacted. The senate also acted as counsel to the king who obtained from them their opinion before presenting a resolution to the assembly.[65]

Upon careful examination of this political set-up in Rome which "always held that the magistrate had absolute command, that the council of elders was the highest authority in the state, and that every exceptional resolution required the sanction of the sovereign, or, in other words, of the community of the people," [66] and comparison of it with that of the Kabyles, there does not seem to have been any Roman influence brought to bear upon the Kabyle form of government. For in the latter the *amin* has practically no power of his own, he is only the executive officer who carries out the will of the *djemâa*. He is not the judicial officer as was the king of the early Roman Constitution; the *djemâa* is the judicial as well as the legislative body.

The elders in the Kabyle village do wield considerable influence but they do not have a separate council which functions as such. We find the position of the elders in a Kabyle village and in their *djemâa* similar to that of deference and respect granted to the elders in practically every group of primitive society. There is an element of similarity between the Roman right to

[65] Mommsen, T., *The History of Rome*, Vol. I, by permission Charles Scribner's Sons, publishers, pp. 95-122.

[66] Ibid, p. 122.

combine former citizenship rights with those granted in the new community and that of the Kabyle who might also hold dual citizenship.

In early Roman history, as well as later, it is true that much independence was enjoyed by the individual communities. Rostovtzeff writing of the Government in Rome in the first two centuries A. D. says: "Its main feature, inherited from the past, is the way in which the utmost possible power of initiative was conceded to the local unit, that is, to the self-governing town."[67] This same thing is true of the Kabyle villages even today—the French government still grants to the local units "the utmost possible power of initiative." It must be remembered that until the time of the French occupation of Algeria, each group was an independent unit, and continues so to function in so far as this does not conflict, according to French policies, with their governing of the country.

The characteristics of the primitive village are: recognized kinship of members of the community, the government in the hands of a council consisting of the heads of the families with a headman presiding; the land under cultivation held in common, and common worship.[68]

The present Kabyle political system is very similar to this primitive form of government described by Fowler. In all probability the present Kabyle *djemâa* is the survival of an early council which consisted of the heads of the families. In fact, this may still be seen to function in the work of the "little *djemâa*." The ancient council was extended to include all male members. If such is the case, then a slow, gradual change had taken place in the political life of the Kabyle. It has not been cataclysmic but extremely slow. The functions of the headman changed in some ways, expanded in others, are today the functions of the *amin* in Kabylia.

Maine says that, "Authority, custom or chance, are the great sources of law in primitive communities."[69] This seems to be true in the source of the *kanoun* of the Kabyles. In his work on "Ancient Law," Maine points out that the turning point in

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[67] Rostovtzeff, M., *A History of the Ancient World*, Vol. II, Clarendon Press, Oxford, publishers, p. 265.

[68] Fowler, W., *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 30-34.

[69] Maine, Sir H. S., *Village Communities*, by permission Henry Holt & Co., publishers, p. 110.

the history of a race is reached when they progress to the stage of having their laws put into writing.[70] The Kabyles have not yet reached this turning point; here change has not taken place. The *kanoun* of the Kabyle is still unwritten. Some of the *kanoun* have been placed in writing by marabouts upon the request of French authorities and this has been done in Arabic. But the *djemâa* has never given authority to have their *kanoun* codified.

It cannot be said that no changes have occurred in the customary law of the Kabyle because these laws have not been reduced to writing. To cite only two examples of change, it appears that these have come about because of the Moslem influence: the law which says that a boy becomes eligible for membership in the assembly after having kept the fast for three successive years,[71] and the one admonishing a man to give certain things to his wife on festival occasions,[72] have grown out of Moslem customs and have been incorporated into the *kanoun* since the Kabyles became Moslems.

In discussing primitive legislation, Maine says, "Wherever the primitive condition of an Aryan race reveals itself either through historical records or through the survival of its ancient institutions, the organ which in the elementary group corresponds to what we call the legislature, is everywhere discernible. It is the Village Council." [73] This village council in primitive society corresponds to the *djemâa* of the Kabyles.

Maine further points out that the shades of power lodged in the village council were not distinguished from one another, there being no clear demarkation in the minds of the people between making a law, declaring a law, and punishing an offender of the law.[74] This would appear true among the Kabyles.

Maine's observations on the obedience to customary law are pertinent. He thinks that customary law is not obeyed as enacted law. Where customary law obtains over small areas or in small groups, he finds the penal sanctions for it in public opinion, superstition, and instinct.[75] This would seem to be true of customary law among the Kabyles.

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[70] Maine, Sir H. S., *Ancient Law*, p. 9.

[71] Bernard, A. et Milliot, L., *Les Qânoûns Kabyles, Revue des Études* Islamique, 1933, p. 39.

[72] Ibid, p. 43.

[73] Maine, Sir H. S., *Early History of Institutions*, by permission Henry Holt & Co., publishers, p. 388.

[74] Maine, Sir H. S., *Early History of Institutions*, p. 388.

[75] Ibid, p. 392.

> It is impossible to suppose that the customs of any race or tribe remained unaltered during the whole of the long—in some instances the immense—interval between their declaration by a patriarchal monarch and their publication in writing. It would be unsafe to affirm that no part of the alteration was effected deliberately. But from the little we know of the progress of law during this period, we are justified in assuming that set purpose had a very small share in producing change.[76]

No doubt it has been so among the Kabyles who are still in the "immense interval" between the formation of their *kanoun*, and the time when it will, if ever, be put into writing. The probability that this will ever be done seems very remote. Now that the country is under French authority, no doubt the *kanoun* will become more and more a code of ethics as the French bring the Kabyles gradually under their laws. Slow change, as has been stated above, has been taking place, but taking place so far as can be ascertained without much influence from the outside, except that of the Moslem period as reflected in some of their laws.

In speaking of the early village community, Sims calls attention to the fact that the villagers seem to have been on a "footing of perfect equality, that the chief presided at their assembly but had little power outside of this except his personal influence and that the real lawgivers and rulers were the individuals who constituted the assembly." [77] This seems to come nearer to the pattern of the present day Kabyle village than any to be found either in ancient or modern times. Granting this to be true, the changes in the political life of the Kabyles has indeed been scant so that Boissier has stated the case well when he says: "The Kabyle *djemâa* is of all governments the simplest, the most elementary, the one in which the people themselves act most directly, without need of courts, police, almost without magistrates." [78]

It has been pointed out that there has been a little Moslem influence upon the *kanoun* of the Kabyles. Can Arab influence be found anywhere else in the political pattern among the Ka-

[76] Maine, Sir Henry James Sumner, *Ancient Law*, by permission of E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, publishers, p. 13.

[77] Sims, N. L., *The Rural Community*, by permission Charles Scribner's Sons, publishers, p. 8.

[78] Boissier, Gaston, *Roman Africa*, courtesy G. P. Putnam's Sons, publishers, p. 10.

byles? For Mohammed the religious and political community were the same. Prior to Mohammed, blood-relationships had bound the various tribes together but even this bond was not strong enough to hold them when blood revenge began to take its toll among them. This divided the communities hopelessly.

Mohammed came proclaiming faith instead of blood as a bond of union and thus created a new political force. Mohammed was the sole authority to be obeyed, for he had been appointed by Allah. Thus the political set-up for the Moslem Arab was theocratic. There were no other officers, Mohammed appointing certain people from among his friends to carry out commissions for him. As the need arose, the Koran came into being and this became the law governing the Moslem. After the death of Mohammed, the Sunna and the Koran governed the Moslems and Mohammed's office as theocratic ruler was assumed by the Caliph.[79] Later, when the Moslem community became much larger and widely dispersed, the system of government became more complicated.

At the time of the *Umayyads* there were three officials to care for the threefold functions of the government. The *amir* (leader or commander) appointed his own *'amil* (agent) over a particular district and forwarded the name to the *Caliph*. The viceroy had full charge of political and military administration in his province, but quite often the revenues were collected by a special officer who was responsible directly to the Caliph. The first *qadi* (judge) was appointed by 'Umar over Egypt in 643 A. D. A *qadi* had to be learned in the Koran and Moslem Tradition.[80]

Every Moslem community has an *imam*. The Koranic meaning of the word is "example, leader, pattern, model, prototype." The jurists of Islam give the name *imam* to the chief of the Moslem community, the spiritual and secular head of the nation.[81] Since the *imam* functions as a spiritual leader among the Kabyle Moslems and not as a secular leader, his duties and functions in Kabylia are treated in Chapter VI. The *imam* in Kabylia does serve as secretary of the *djemâa*, when such service is needed. He is chosen to do this because he is often the only one in the village who can write.

Much of the work that falls to the *imam* in a Moslem com-

[79] Wellhausen, J., *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*, pp. 1-35.
[80] Hitti, P. K., *History of the Arabs*, pp. 224, 225.
[81] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, p. 473b.

munity is carried on by the *djemâa* and the *amin* in a Kabyle community. Here Moslem influence has not made itself felt.

There seems to be no resemblance whatsoever between the Arab theocracy and the Kabyle democracy. They diverge at all points and it seems true that no change has come politically to Kabylia through Moslem influence.

There are, however, still some things which are unexplained. What about some of the terms used in the political life of the Kabyles? Do these show that there has been foreign influence? *Djemâa,* the word for the governing body of the Kabyles is an Arab word. But it does not correspond in Kabyle to any similar governing body among the Arabs. It seems to be a case of taking over an Arab word and giving to it a Kabyle connotation.

The word *amin* is also from the Arabic. Its meaning of "trustworthy" fits into the position of *amin,* for the Kabyles place in this office some one in whom they have faith. Here again there is nothing in the Moslem political set-up that compares in name or function to this office among the Kabyles, who seem to have adopted this Arab word and given it their own connotation.

The word *çof* which is used to denote the political parties of the village, in its original meaning seems to have denoted "a company of men." [82] Once again the Kabyles seem to have employed an Arabic word and given it a Kabyle signification. The Kabyles also use the word *çof* to denote "clan." It would seem that the political parties known as the *çofs* today in Kabylia were in earlier times the clans of the village. The clan began with those claiming blood relationship but as time went on in primitive society others were oftentimes included until the diverse origins came to be forgotten or the differences ignored. In primitive society the clan sometimes complicated society and divided a man's loyalties. The clan regarded the interests of its members as paramount.[83]

Herein the Kabyle *çof* differs from the primitive clan. The Kabyles bind themselves together, but as was pointed out above, in self interest. When one party fails to be of use, the Kabyle may change his political affiliations. Not so in primitive clan loyalties. Nor is totemism found in the *çof* as it is in the clan. If it is conceded that the *çofs* are an outgrowth of the clan, then

[82] Lane, E. W., *Arabic-English Lexicon,* Book 1, Part 4, p. 1693.
[83] Lowie, R. H., *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology,* pp. 254-259.

change is once again noted in the political pattern of Kabyle society. But this change has been brought about internally and not from any external influences.

To sum up, the Roman influence upon the political life of Kabylia seems to have been nil. The Arab political influence was practically nil, only showing itself in a few words taken over and used in a Kabyle setting. A study of the political life reveals that what change has taken place has occurred within the Kabyle political structure and has been very slow and very gradual in evolving from the primitive political pattern of society. This very slow change, this absence of external influence, this rugged individualism, this dogged independence, found in the political life of the Kabyle has been characteristic of him in practically all phases of his life.

The above account presents the status of the Kabyle political life until French occupation. Since then important changes have occurred in Kabylia, and the most profound have been those in the functions of the *djemâa*.[84] These changes have not been brought about by French influence, nor due to a desire from within the Kabyle political structure for change. They are the result of the imposing of the administrative power of a conquering nation upon its conquered people.

As the result of French legislation the autonomy of the village as a political body does not any longer exist. No longer is the *djemâa* a judicial body. All serious crimes and misdemeanors, whether against the public or individuals, are now handled by the French tribunal. The administrative power of the *djemâa* are still exercised but in certain respects subject to French administration.[85]

Today all crimes, assassinations, poisonings, murders, forgery, and counterfeiting, robbery, taking of beasts, arson, and infliction of serious wounds, are judged under the French Penal Code. The jurisdiction of the *djemâa* extends only to simple robbery, to marauding, to blows that are not serious, and to rural offenses.[86]

The Law of August 29, 1874, states that the Moslem or Kabyle law would continue to govern the civil and commercial

[84] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 133.
[85] Idem.
[86] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 326.

conventions between Arabs or Kabyles as well as the questions of religion and State, unless the parties agreed to submit them to the French Law.[87]

Civil affairs have remained subject to the jurisdiction of the *djemâa* and it can delegate its authority to an arbitrator-judge when this is found to be convenient. But this is less frequently done now than in the past. Since French domination, the *djemâa* is free from the fear of a minority relying upon the help of a friendly *çof* and it now makes its decisions without this check.[88]

The duties of the *amin* are not much changed. The fact that some of the functions of the *djemâa* are changed, necessarily changes in some ways the duties of the *amin*. He must give an account to the French authority of what goes on in his village and he is the agent of his government in the village. He collects and pays directly into the hands of tax officials the tax of "capitation." He receives a certain portion of this as expenses for his collection.[89] In recent years, some Kabyles have preferred to pay their taxes direct to the tax official in the commune because sometimes unscrupulous *amins* have tried to collect the same tax more than once.

The *amin's* term of office is now limited to one year, but there is no reason why an *amin* may not be re-elected. After the tax collection is made in December, each village is called upon to renew its *amin*. The election is by majority voice and universal suffrage. The choice of the village must, however, be ratified by the French authority.[90]

There has been instituted by the *amin* an *oukil* whose duties are analogous to those of the *oukil* of the mosque.[91] He receives the funds of the village and pays the expenses. His functions are gratuitous and he is named by the *djemâa*. An interesting factor is that the Kabyle, in his suspicions always wanting to check upon authority and power, chooses the *oukil* from the opposing *çof* to that of the *amin*. Thus one political group has a check upon the other.

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[87] Ibid, p. 467.
[88] Ibid, Vol. II, p. 133.
[89] Hanoteau et Letourneux, Vol. II, p. 133.
[90] Ibid, p. 134.
[91] See Chapter VI.

CHAPTER V

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE KABYLES

THE Kabyles are an agricultural people. They are lovers of the soil and will go to extremes in their shrewdness to obtain a piece of ground. Since the land cannot support all the people those who leave it to work elsewhere will usually return later to buy a piece of land and settle down. As has already been pointed out the people live very compactly in villages, farming the surrounding territory.

The land is not very fertile except in the river valleys. It is badly eroded and the hillsides very rocky. However, wherever the Kabyle finds it possible to use the plow or the *thaqebechth* (short-handled hoe) he cultivates the land. On the hillsides are fig and olive trees in abundance. Pomegranates, apricots, cherries, oranges, lemons, walnuts, almonds and other varieties of trees are found in Kabylia. Not all can be grown in all parts of the country, however, owing to the variations of altitude, climate and rainfall.

Wheat, barley, lentils, chick-peas and broad beans are grown but not in sufficient quantities to feed all the people. Not only is the ground poor but the ways of cultivating it do not always make it produce as much as it might. More important than the grains that are grown are the olive and fig trees. The fig can be grown to an altitude of 3,250 ft., and the olive to almost 2,000 ft. Some ash and carob trees are also found. Many of the paths are lined with barbary cactus which grows in great profusion in rocky areas where cultivation cannot be carried on.

Contour farming is used, but the furrows are very shallow. The ground is broken by the use of oxen and the old style wooden plow after the wheat and barley have been sown freehand. The plow is held in great honor among the Kabyles. The theft of one is considered a sacrilege and dishonors forever the guilty. He is not given a heavy fine but is stigmatized by public opinion and an ancient tradition condemns him to die of hunger.[1]

The plow is never brought into the house until the planting is all finished. It is always left in the last furrow begun, the laborer only taking with him, in the evening, the plowshare,

[1] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 244.

the straps and the yoke. Thurnwald says that the transition from the primitive state to a higher cultural life is marked by the plow as an economic implement.[2]

In some parts of Kabylia a festival is held with a *temecheret* when plowing begins, and many superstitions are found in connection with the planting. One practice demonstrates the kindness and generosity of the Kabyles. On the morning that tilling is started four hard boiled eggs, four pomegranates and four nuts are buried for each pair of oxen. They are left all day and in the evening the children of the village gather them. In some places bread, fritters and cakes are fastened to the neck of the oxen and the children contest for these. Olive oil is rubbed on the horns and neck of the oxen to preserve them, and on each person working with them to protect them from illness during the year. Before the work is begun a handful of wheat, barley, broad beans or peas is thrown upon the ground and the *Fatiha* is recited by all.[3]

Much of the weeding is done by the women. They also care for the smaller gardens where lettuce, onions, carrots and other vegetables are planted. In most parts of Kabylia the mountain sides are very stony. Sometimes some of these stones are gathered up and fences built around the fields but often they plow around or over them.

A short handled hoe called a *thaqebechth* is used to loosen the ground and for weeding. In fact this is a very handy tool being used for many purposes. A *thaqebechth* has an iron strip at the end of the short handle. One end of this iron strip has a blade about two inches wide which is used for hoeing and weeding. The opposite end has a sharp blade which may be used in trimming trees, hacking out roots and chopping.

Lowie in commenting upon the use of the short handled tools by the Shilluk of the upper Nile says:

> Indeed even by primitive standards, this tribe is strangely backward in farming. Weeding is for them proverbially the hardest labor known. Their difficulty, however, is quite unnecessary, it comes from the short handles of their tools, which force a worker to kneel painfully on the ground.[4]

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[2] Thurnwald, R., *Economics in Primitive Communities*, p. 93.

[3] Hanoteau, A., et Letourneux, A., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 478.

[4] Lowie, R. H., *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, new and enlarged edition (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1916) p. 29.

But the Kabyles, although using short handled tools like the Shilluk, do not seem to find the work too laborious. They assume a squatting position, the same as that taken in doing much of their work when not sitting cross-legged. Often this same squatting posture is assumed when the people are carrying on a conversation.

The people have very few tools with which to carry on their agricultural work. Some now have a few larger ones, like those the French use, but many of the people are too poor to own any. The grain is cut by hand with a short sickle. The threshing is done on a flat place where the sheaves can be thrown down and the oxen trample them out. The grain is tossed into the air on wooden forks so that the wind will blow the chaff away. Sometimes the grain is taken by the men to a mill where it can be ground. A certain portion of it is left in payment for the grinding.

If it is ground by the women in the home a hand mill is used. This mill consists of two large flat stones. There is a pivot on the bottom stone so that the hole in the top one fits down over this. A stick is fixed on the edge of the top stone to serve as a handle in turning. The grain is dropped, a handful at a time around the pivot and the flour falls from the periphery of the mill onto a sheepskin upon which the mill has been set.

This type of mill is known as a quern, and is still used in most primitive countries. The querns found in the Museum at Pompeii are the same as the ones used in Kabylia today except that those used by the Kabyles are smaller.

The woman makes the flour into *ar'roum* (bread) or *souksou* (couscous). Either may be made from wheat or barley flour. The bread is made by mixing the flour with salt and a little olive oil and baking it over an open fire. *Souksou* is the food which is eaten every day by all the people. It is made by placing a handful of wheat in a *djefna* (a large wooden bowl), sprinkling it with water and rolling it with the hands. More flour is added and the rolling is continued. This process causes the flour to form in little grains which are put through a *tallemt'* (sieve), then rolled and put through a larger sieve as the grains become a little larger. The whole process is repeated as many times as may be necessary to get a sufficient quantity. An earthen utensil operating on the same principle as a double boiler is used for cooking the couscous. The lower part of this utensil is

filled with water in which either the meat or the vegetables, or both are cooked. The top part of the utensil has perforations in the bottom so that the steam from the broth underneath can penetrate above. The grain is placed in this and is cooked by the steam. When thoroughly steamed the couscous is poured again into the *djefna* and mixed with olive oil. Spices are often added. There are various ways of serving this food—with meat or vegetable sauce to which plenty of red pepper is always added, with honey, sugar, or butter.

The two most important crops in Kabylia are figs and olives. The figs must be picked when ripened to a certain consistency, placed on home made reed racks, then put in the sun to dry. Each day the figs must be turned until they have dried thoroughly. Packed in bags they are placed on the backs of donkeys and carried home. The figs which are to be kept for family consumption are packed tightly in the large amphorae, the rest are sold. Sprinkling a little salt over the figs, not enough to give them a salty taste, helps to keep them from getting wormy.

At the gathering of olives, certain men hire themselves out to beat the fruit from the trees. The man who injures the trees the least in this process gains the reputation of being the most efficient. The work of picking up the olives from the ground is long and tedious.

One of the most important industries in Kabylia is the making of olive oil. The olive tree was probably carried to North Africa by the Phoenicians,[5] and its cultivation is one of the principal means of support for the Kabyles. The trees, many of them very old, are found on most of the hillsides in Kabylia. Some have been grafted to produce cultivated olives while many of them, especially in Little Kabylia, are of the wild variety. The trees grow easily in poor soil and where the rainfall is not abundant. The greatest loss that can come to a Kabyle is to lose his olive or fig trees. It is very significant that after the insurrection of 1857 when the envoys of the Beni-Raten, the refractory tribe, went to Maréchal Randon, the French officer, to negotiate for peace, they were promised that their fig and olive trees and homes would be respected.[6]

When the olives are ripe the *amin* of each village announces the time when the gathering may begin. All the people of a

[5] *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, 11th Edition, Vol. XX, p. 86b.
[6] Bernard, A., *L'Algérie*, p. 202.

given village begin at the same time. When the olives have been beaten from the limbs and picked up by the women and children they are ready for the olive press. This work begins in late October or early November. There are always a few olives left on the tree or a few that are left on the ground. These the poor and the children glean. Some children earn a good many pennies by gleaning, others are able in this way to increase the oil supply of their impoverished families. The same principle is found advocated in Deut. 24:20, "When thou beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not go over the boughs again, it shall be for the sojourner, for the fatherless, and for the widow."

Olive oil is made in Kabylia by the use of the primitive olive press. The olives are placed in a stone circular basin and crushed by turning an upright millstone round and round. To the upright stone is fastened a long pole which reaches beyond the edge of the stone basin. Either a donkey or a woman, or sometimes the two together, turn the millstone. The women keep turning and stirring the mass of olives with their hands so that the entire amount may be well crushed. This pulp is then placed in flat grass baskets in a wooden screw press. The weight is turned down over the threads to press all the oil out of the olives. The oil is caught in earthen jars. It is allowed to settle, then the women filter it by lifting it carefully in their hands and letting it run through their fingers into another jar. It is stored in large earthen jars or in oil cans (more modern) and kept for family consumption or for market. The marc is usually used for fuel by the people who never let anything go to waste.

Randall-MacIver and Wilkin say that this mill and press are certainly not of purely native invention nor do they seem to be directly derived from the Roman model. Although there is no apparent record of their being introduced from Europe, they may have been brought from France or Spain at a not very remote period, in which case they would be traceable to Rome.[7] But this same olive press or at least one very similar was known at an early time in Palestine. Dalman has a good description of it.[8] One like it is found in China.[9] Since the olive tree was probably introduced into North Africa by the Phoenicians before the time of the Romans, the olive press may have come

[7] Randall-MacIver, D. and Wilkin, A., *Libyan Notes*, p. 52.
[8] Dalman, G., *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Band IV, p. 202ff.
[9] Hommel, Rudolf, *China at Work*, p. 85f.

even before the time of the Romans. This would seem more probable than its introduction at a later date.

Randall-MacIver describes two methods of making oil which he learned from Hanoteau. He thinks the first one of these is the original native process. According to this method the olives are placed on a flat rock and ground against it by an oblong stone which is pushed to and fro by a woman at each end. The other method is for inferior olives which must be treated while still fresh. Water is poured over them and they are trodden out by the women.[10] Neither one of these methods is common in Kabylia today.

In some parts of Kabylia more modern olive presses have been installed and the people take their olives to be made into oil to these places, giving a portion in payment for the work done. Some of the olives are sold, immediately upon being picked, to olive merchants, especially if there is no place to store them or if ready cash is needed.

There are no large herds in Kabylia for there is not pasturage enough to support them. The few sheep which are kept, the goats, oxen and donkeys, must be fed many months of the year because of insufficient pasture. Practically every family keeps a few chickens, and rabbits are being kept by an increasing number of people.

The pottery in Kabylia is made by the women. It is not an industry which is found in all the villages, but is confined to a few villages, or in some instances to a few families. Lowie says that local specialization although less common than division of labor according to sex, is far from negligible. He cites New Guinea where many tribes own pottery, but it is only manufactured in a relatively few villages.[11] In Kabylia all use pottery but its manufacture is confined to a few places. Thurnwald also speaks of pottery making as limited in area.[12]

Although pottery making is usually the work of women in primitive society there are instances in which the men make it. Among the Lango the men make pottery while the women obtain the clay from the river beds.[13] But among the Ewe people

[10] Randall-MacIver and Wilkin, op. cit., p. 52.
[11] Lowie, op. cit., p. 108.
[12] Thurnwald, op. cit., p. 127.
[13] Ibid, p. 90.

the women make the pottery.[14] The Kabyles are like the Ewe people in this—the women make the pottery, the men bring the clay.

The clay used is pounded into powder by the women, then mixed with water to make the consistency needed for modeling. The women use both their hands and feet in the mixing of the clay. The base for the water jar or whatever utensil is being made is shaped and placed on a round, flat stone. The clay is rolled into a round strip and placed a layer at a time upon the base. This type of coiled pottery is extremely common throughout the world.[15]

The clay is shaped with the hand while the flat stone upon which it rests is turned slowly by the great toe. The woman sits cross-legged upon the floor with her work in front of her. As she shapes her vessel she scraps off superfluous clay with a small flat piece of wood. When the jar is completed it is placed in the sun to dry. Before firing the pots are painted. Small hand made brushes or pointed sticks are used for this. The pots are painted or burnished with pebbles after the surface has been moistened.

Only three colors are found on Kabyle pottery—red, white and black. The red is more of a brownish tint. The colors are obtained by crushing lumps of native earth and mixing this with the water. The designs used on the pottery are rectilinear.

Randall-MacIver says that these rectilinear designs afford the most valuable corroboration of the view that this is a survival of an exceedingly primitive manufacture.[16] Haddon in his description of the pottery art of the peoples of the Torres Straits, gives practically the same that the Kabyles use on their pottery. He says minutely zigzag lines are used, the patterns being inscribed within parallel lines. There is a preponderance of straight or angled lines to the exclusion of curved lines.

> The most common pattern is the ubiquitous zigzag, and this is preeminently characteristic of this region. The zigzag may appear as an angular wavy line, or each alternate triangle may be left in relief or emphasized by parallel lines, thus forming series of alternate light and dark triangles, or what is sometimes termed a tooth pattern. It is

[14] Ibid, p. 133.
[15] Lowie, op. cit., p. 130.
[16] Randall-MacIver and Wilkin, op. cit., p. 64.

> obvious that when several rows of this pattern are drawn, a triangle of one row will coincide with that of the contiguous row so as to form a diamond, or lozenge. Strange as it may seem it appears that this is the actual way in which even such a simple form as the lozenge was discovered in this district. Even now, after generations upon generations of designers carving the same simple patterns, the lozenge is very frequently made by drawing a median horizontal line parallel to the boundary lines and then cutting a more or less symmetrical triangle on each side of it. A herringbone pattern and a few simple combinations of straight or angled lines complete the decorative attempts of these people.[17]

Another observation in connection with this which Haddon makes is suggestive: "A poor miserable people have poor and miserable art." [18] This would seem to be true of the Kabyles who from their pottery designs seem to be very low in the scale of art.

After the pots have been decorated they are ready for firing. A bed of branches, usually from the cork trees, is made and the pots are placed carefully upon this, covered with broken pottery and fired. Immediately upon being taken from the fire the pots are varnished with yellow resin from a coniferous tree. Not all the pottery is varnished; seldom is this done in Little Kabylia, and not always is it decorated.

There are many different kinds, shapes and sizes of pottery made. Included are the jars used for carrying water from the fountain. In Great Kabylia these are long, slender, and pointed on the standing end. These resemble very much the old Roman water jars. In Little Kabylia the water jars are shorter, thicker and flat bottomed.[19] The ones having the pointed end fit well into the small of the back when being carried. The women using the flat bottomed jars place a piece of cork bark underneath sometimes, to make carrying easier.

Earthen plates, round and shallow but of varying sizes are made to use for eating purposes.[20] Sometimes these are made to

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[17] Haddon, A. C., *Evolution in Art*, Walter Scott, Ltd., London, Publishers, p. 14.

[18] Ibid, p. 9.

[19] Cf. Macalister, R. A. S., *A Century of Excavation in Palestine*, p. 238.

[20] Cf. MacKenzie, D., *Excavations at Ain Shems, Palestine, Exploration Fund Annual*, p. 66ff.

sit on a flat pedestal and are then called "pottery tables." Small jars used for drinking are made with a flat bottom, a narrow neck and a hollow handle from which one may drink without touching the jar to the lips. Large, very large flat bowls, are made to place over the fire to bake the native bread; so also the double cookers for making couscous. The lower part of the cooker is large and round with two handles from the top down about three inches. The Jewish cooking pots which Hastings describes and says came from a blending of the pre-Israelite and the Phoenician types[21] are like these cooking pots of the Kabyles.

Randall-MacIver made a study of the Kabyle and Egyptian pottery. He found Kabyle pottery could be grouped under six heads:

(1) White or light yellow decoration on a red ground. This style is combined with that of (5) which, however, occurs frequently by itself.
(2) Red decoration on a white ground.[22]
(3) Black decoration on a white ground.[23]
(4) Red ware with a very little ornamentation.[24]
(5) Pots which are quite plain and undecorated.

He found the first type the most important in relation to prehistoric Egypt. The cerise red of the Egyptian, wherever the glaze is worn off, is precisely the same as the Kabyle. The detail, as well as the whole character of the patterning, shows the closest resemblance between the Kabyle and the Egyptian. In the very early Egyptian pottery small, simple forms are used in which ample, swelling curves are not attempted. They are exactly those which could be easily produced by such a process of building-up in strips as the Kabyles employ. On the other hand, they contrast sharply with the "decorated" class of prehistoric Egyptian with which the Kabyle types have no analogies.

The very use of multiple pots is peculiarly characteristic of Kabyle work, and the recurrence of such a marked peculiarity in the prehistoric Egyptian is not the least valuable corroboration of the theory that the products of the two countries have a common origin.

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[21] Hastings, J., *A Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. IV, p. 27a.

[22] Cf. Macalister, R. A. S., *The Excavation of Gezer*, Vol. III, Plate CXL, Figure 1. Note striking similarity.

[23] Idem, Figure 12.

[24] Idem, Figure 9.

The second class of Kabyle pottery has no Egyptian affinities. The third type has no close resemblance to anything known in prehistoric Egypt but it has other connections of a highly interesting kind. It is absolutely identical in general effect, in technique, and in detail or ornament, with Cypriote ware which is dated to about the ninth century B. C. There can be no question that either Cyprus borrowed from Libya or Libya from Cyprus, but it is not easy to decide which country was indebted to the other. The variety of the shapes, some of which do not seem to occur elsewhere in Kabyle pottery, inclines us to believe that Cyprus invented and Libya borrowed; but on the other hand it is no great step from the white ware decorated with red, which there is no reason to suppose is not native Kabyle, to this white ware decorated with black. One thing, however, is clear; Libya had direct or indirect intercourse with Cyprus, at a date which may have been contemporary with the foundation of Carthage and earlier than that of the Greek colonies in North Africa.

The ware in the fourth group is far inferior in beauty to that of the first three types. It is widely distributed and affects a considerable variety of forms from the very large water-vessels, which are commonly carried about the country, to small vases. This type is distinguished by the predominance of the red coloring; the surface is not glazed but is generally very highly burnished. This ware is regarded as the Libyan representative of the polished red ware of prehistoric Egypt.

The fifth class contains a very large number of pots, most of which are inferior in style to the finer wares. The Kabyles use a great deal of plain coarse ware. The pottery tables like those of the early Egyptians are in every-day use at the present time among the Kabyles.

The general style of ornamentation of Kabyle pottery indicates that its makers are still following, at the present day, those simple rules of art which were laid down by their ancestors and from which they have never departed. If this seems to be an extreme instance of conservatism, it will not appear at all incredible to those who have watched a Kabyle girl at her work using an older pot beside her as the model for all the patterns that she is painting upon its successors. Rectilinear designs might be perpetuated in this way for a wholly indefinite period; their simple and rigid outlines afford no scope for that semi-conscious misinterpretation, which in other cases so often gives

rise to numerous and wide modifications of a single original. The makers of the white-lined red pottery of prehistoric Egypt were similarly at the stage when rectilinear patterns dominated their art. These were a legacy to the Libyans who have preserved them unaltered and unimproved to the present day, so that Kabyle pots in use now may be said to be over 7,000 years old,[25] in pattern. Pottery in the early Pre-Israelite Period is similar in many respects to Kabyle pottery.

Thus we see in the pottery of the Kabyles one of the most striking and ancient survivals to be found in any phase of their life. Change has not affected their pottery. They still cling to prehistoric forms and designs.

The Kabyle women utilize every bit of wool that is found in Kabylia in their weaving. The wool is taken first to the fountain where it is washed. This process consists in washing the wool in cold water using yellow soap, beating it upon stones, and tramping it with the feet. The clean wool is carded with an *aqerdach* which is made of fine wire brushes on a wooden back and with wooden handles. The wool is combed between these until it is well carded. The spinning is done with a distaff, which is a forked stick held under the arm. The wool is fastened near the fork and pulled along the prong. A piece of wood shaped like a top with a hook in the flat end is used as the *thazemarth* (spindle). A piece of the wool is fastened to the hook. The spindle is twirled rapidly either against the leg of the woman if she sits, or between her hands if she is standing, then dropped quickly. This movement twists the wool into a thread between distaff and spindle.[26] The Kabyle women and girls all know how to do this type of spinning and are very agile in this art. The thread is spun coarse or fine according to the purpose for which it is to be employed.

These are primitive spinning methods which have been known to many peoples. "The simple spinning apparatus which was used in the earliest ages continued to be used by civilized communities till comparatively recent times, and it may therefore be said that no art which has been so long and widely practiced remained so unprogressive as that of spinning." [27]

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[25] Randall-MacIver and Wilkin, op. cit., pp. 57-65. Cf. Bliss, F. J. and Macalister, R. A. S., *Excavations in Palestine*, pp. 77ff.

[26] Cf. Lowie, R. H., *Cultural Anthropology*, p. 126.

[27] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Vol. XXV, p. 685 b.

If the yarn is for a burnous it is left the natural color. If it is to be used for a woman's belt, or a cover, it is dyed. The colors used are red, black, yellow and indigo blue. Their dyes are made from the following:

Indigo blue from indigo.
Red from maddar root.
Yellow from *Ridolfia segetum.*
Black from cytisus.
Red from the raw *lac-gum.*[28]

The loom is set up in a corner of the hut and usually several of the women assist in the assembling and threading of it. It consists of two upright pieces of wood which are fastened to the upright pieces with wooden pegs. The cross bar at the top is made secure by rope. The bottom bar, to which the warp is fastened, can be turned when necessary to roll up the weaving. This allows for the weaver always to be seated at her work. The top bar may be raised or lowered according to the need. The tops of the warp are fastened to this. A horizontal bar, usually reed, intersects the warp and two similar ones are used to keep the warp tight and to separate its threads. One striking thing in the weaving is the passing of the woof without the use of a shuttle. This is done by hand, very quickly, then it is pressed down by the side of the hand, then by an iron comb.[29]

The same type of designing is employed in Kabyle weaving as in pottery—the rectilinear. Ripley says that the zigzag in different places has different meanings but is generally claimed as a water motif; while the space which separates the lower from the upper ornament is usually marked by simple diagonal lines at regular intervals. She further observes that straight lines are used in primitive geometric ornament. In order to make variety and vitality the straight lines assume angular patterns and that as obstacles are overcome, straight lines give place to curves.[30]

It would seem that the Kabyles have never yet been able to overcome their obstacles and have continued in their primitive way. This would again seem to indicate lack of change.

There are many varieties of the rectilinear designs used even in the same piece of weaving but most of them are formed either

[28] Hanoteau, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 529.
[29] Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 11th Edition, Vol. XXVIII, p. 448.
[30] Ripley, M. C., *The Oriental Rug Book,* pp. 5-6.

by the zigzag or by the diamond shapes. Haddon says that the simple zigzag can be traced in Ancient Egyptian art as far back as 4000 B. C.[31]

The weaving in Little Kabylia differs somewhat from that in Great Kabylia. The colorings are more vivid in Little Kabylia and there is less variety of pattern. The designs are nearly always zigzag and parallel lines. The variations are found in Great Kabylia. This is true in everything that is done. Little Kabylia always seems even a little more primitive, if that is possible in some things, than Great Kabylia.

In the last few years through the efforts of the French Administration at Fort National, Great Kabylia, some Kabyles have bought a manufactured loom on which weaving can be done much more rapidly than upon Kabyle looms. These were installed as an economic measure—to try to increase the earning ability of the people. The looms are bought through the French Administrator and paid for in small installments while the people are earning. The demand has not been great for these looms. This is probably because the people hesitate to try anything new. Many of them fear it will be impossible to dispose of the finished product. There is difficulty in selling the manufactured blankets and rugs. In homes where these looms have been installed the men have helped with the weaving. With the present war the market for this type of work is practically closed and its whole future is very uncertain.

The making of jewelry is very important among the Kabyles. The women try to obtain as much jewelry as possible since it is the one thing, along with the clothes they wear, which cannot be taken from them. A woman's jewelry is always her own possession. Consequently, by fair means or foul, women seek to buy it every chance they have. Jewelry making, like pottery, is confined to certain areas. Many of the jewelers are Jewish people. Soualah says that the making of jewelry passed into the hands of the Israelites, who came for the most part from Cordova, Granada and Leghorn.[32]

Gold is not used in Kabyle jewelry, only silver. The silver is partially obtained from old coins. Much coral is used, this

[31] Haddon, A. C., op. cit., p. 89.

[32] Soualah, Mohammed, *La Société Indigène de L'Afrique du Nord*, 2ème partie, p. 198.

being obtained from the Mediterranean coast. The value of jewelry depends upon the amount of silver and coral it contains. The workmanship is not finished and fine; however, it cannot be called crude. The styles are heavy and barbaric. The larger and heavier the pieces of jewelry, the more they seem to be valued by the Kabyle women. In place of coral or in a combination with coral, some kind of colored paste, often green, is spread over parts of the ornament. This hardens like enamel. Ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, anklets and brooches are made. One type of brooch is worn fastened to the head-handkerchief above the forehead when a woman has had her first son.

Some necklaces are made entirely of coins, others are made of coral and beads. These are strung on a dirty cotton string and fastened at the back of the neck by a loop over any kind of an old button available when the necklace was made. This is like the "toggle" in primitive ornament. There are some engravings on some of the anklets and bracelets but no striking designs are found.

In many places women make clove necklaces, the perfume from these being pleasant. These are made by powdering the cloves and making a thick paste. This is rolled into little balls, pierced so that a thread will pass through. The women in India string whole cloves. These balls are strung with bright colored beads which are bought at the market. Kabyle pedlars sell jewelry to the women. There is also much traffic in jewelry among the women themselves.

Basketry work is found in some parts of Kabylia and it is the woven and not the coiled type. Baskets are made from tough grasses and reeds growing in certain sections of the country. These are usually utility baskets—needed for carrying figs and olives, or to place on the donkey for hauling. Grass mats are made and used for sitting upon the ground. Nearly every household has at least one of these mats. In late years the making of raffia baskets and mats has been encouraged among the people by some of the Christian missionaries. Invariably the women make the same designs in this work that they do in their weaving and on their pottery. The question of finding a market for the raffia work has sometimes been difficult.

Nearly every village has a tailor or a seamstress. These usually use modern European sewing machines. They sell cloth for

garments, obtaining this at market or from the stores in the nearest towns. The tailor makes the clothing for men and boys and also dresses for the women. The seamstress usually confines herself to dresses for women and girls. The patterns of material change from time to time but the style of making the dresses remains the same. The embroidery work necessary to finish a man's burnous is done by a man who specializes in this work.

Each village has a blacksmith who shoes the donkeys and mules and keeps the tools of the village in repair. New parts are made to replace broken ones and good work is usually done. The *djemâa* furnishes the blacksmith with a house. For much of his work he receives a certain amount in kind from each person in the village. He is then obligated to keep their tools in order for the entire year.

There are certain types of workman who travel from place to place, doing work where it is needed. Such a one is the saddle maker. He travels from village to village usually making his rounds at about the same time each year. He remakes saddles, being furnished the necessary materials or sometimes having certain materials with him. He is usually paid in cash but sometimes in kind.

Another workman belonging in this group is the maker of wooden bowls. Usually two men work this together. They go into a community where they are able to buy a tree large enough for their purpose, usually an ash tree. After felling the tree they cut it into pieces thick enough for the large wooden bowls which the Kabyles use for making couscous. The bowls are made near where the trees are cut.

A certain few professions are not honored among the Kabyles. In spite of the fact that most of the people have been kept on the same intellectual plane through lack of educational facilities, and even those who have any money are only a little above the poverty level, the Kabyle, in his pride, has found a way of creating classes by dishonoring certain professions such as those of butcher, measurer of grain, shoemaker, dancer, and *t'ebala* (singers with tambourine accompaniment).

In the past the trade of butcher was exercised by Negroes and

this may account for the low esteem in which the butcher is held. But there is no such explanation for the measurers of grain nor for the shoemakers. It is even more bizarre when one realizes that the measurers of oil, the tanners, and makers of sabot are not held in disfavor. No satisfactory reason has as yet been discovered why these trades are looked upon unfavorably. It is easy to understand why the *t'ebala* are in disrepute. Their songs are full of licentious suggestions, but in spite of this, the Kabyles always want them present for their festivals. The singers known as *ameddah* are very much respected. They are the poets who sing the stories of the tribes and the Glory of Allah.

In various parts of the world the division of labor differs. Herskovits speaks of this thus:

> The lines along which sex division of labor are drawn are so variable that it is well nigh impossible to enunciate any principle that does not have numerous exceptions. Among agricultural tribes it is understandable that the men should clear the fields and the women tend the crops; but while the first part of this statement holds for most peoples, the second does not.[33] The only fact of universal validity that remains when aberrant and special factors are counted out is that the work is everywhere apportioned between men and women; only in the most vague and general manner can biological or other equally broad considerations be used to help explain that phenomenon.[34]

Among the Kabyles each member of the family has duties in the planting and harvesting of the crops. The men do the plowing and the sowing of the seed. The women and children help with the weeding, while the women care for the vegetable gardens.

In the gathering of figs the men and women both pick the fruit and place it upon the drying racks.

All the family has work to do during the olive season. The men beat off the olives, take them to market, and assist in making the oil. The women gather the olives, assist in making oil and filter it. The children assist in gathering the olives.

The men do the marketing, get the clay for pottery making, and sell the pottery. Some follow ambulant trades. The

[33] It does not hold for the Kabyles.

[34] Herskovits, M. J., *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples*, permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., publishers, p. 107.

blacksmiths, masons, tailors and jewelers are men. They are also the festival musicians.

The women do the spinning, weaving, pottery making, basketry, cooking, carrying of water, care for chickens and rabbits and are seamstresses and dancers.

The children keep the sheep and goats and help about the house. The girls begin at an early age to carry water and to learn household duties.

In many ways the women assist the men, such as in the building of a house, or the planting of a hedge. Often the women assist in heavy work but the above division of labor is typical.

An economic institution of vital interest to every Kabyle is the market. These are held in certain central locations and the tribes in the vicinity are obligated to support them. Several villages, sometimes several tribes, join in the creation of one. Thurnwald says that meeting places where goods were exchanged and markets were held may rightly be considered to have originated very early.[35]

In Kabylia every market has its own special day and each is held once a week. Often these are named for the day of the week on which they are held. Another indication of its importance is found in the fact that each school has its free day for the week on the day that the market is held in its vicinity.

The markets are no longer under the control of the Kabyle government, that is the *djemâa,* but many of the regulations are made by the French government. Any disturbance at one of them is now taken care of by French authorities whereas in former days there was an *amin* to do this.

While the men are trading there is time to exchange news, to make plans for work and to discuss political questions. What Thurnwald says of such gatherings in the New Hebrides (Oceania) is true of Kabylia: "These meetings (at the market) are the breeding places of all intrigues, plots and quarrels, not to mention the friction generated during the bargaining." [36]

The Kabyles who come long distances to a market often come the day before it is to open. There are coffee houses where the

[35] Thurnwald, op. cit., p. 159.

[36] Thurnwald, Richard, *Economics in Primitive Communities,* University Press, Oxford, p. 161.

men find lodging for the night and something to eat. On market day at a very early hour in the morning on all the roads leading to the market center Kabyles will be seen on their way—some will be on foot, others will be on donkey; some will have sheep, donkeys, goats or oxen to sell or trade; others will be bringing oil, figs or grain. Trains now carry many of these traders, while busses, which are often so old they risk falling to pieces, carry crowds of them. Some men make a business of going from market to market with certain things to sell or trade.

It would be difficult to find a place where there is more variety of merchandise than at one of these Kabyle trading centers. Each section of the grounds is reserved for some specific thing so that it is easy to find your way around. On the outskirts is the abattoir, where the animals are killed, Moslem style, by stabbing and draining the blood, then they are strung up and the meat is sold in the open.

In one corner of the market are the animals for sale or trade, in another section the grain, in another the vegetables—onions, peppers, carrots, turnips. Fruits in season, oranges, medlars, figs, melons, are found. The second-hand clothes merchant is there, and clothes are tried on, bought and exchanged in the open. The salt pedlar is there, the seller of native confectionery, the dry goods merchant with bolts of material for women's dresses, with head-handkerchiefs and blankets. There are all kinds and descriptions of notions and toilet articles, especially strong smelling and highly colored soaps and perfumes.

Some of the trading is done in kind, some is paid for with French currency. Always there is bartering and gesticulating until an agreement can be reached on the price. The marabout is there to sell amulets. It affords a time not only of buying and selling but of visiting. There relatives meet and friend meets friend and news is carried from the markets to distant villages. Needless to say the markets are attended by the men and boys. However, old women, who no longer are marriageable sometimes frequent the markets.

Early in the afternoon the men begin the trek back to their villages. Some go empty handed, others have a load over their shoulders, others have loads on their donkeys, while still others are driving home animals which they have purchased. Most of them will be carrying some meat on a string or have it tied to the saddle of the donkey. Market day is often the only time

the Kabyle has meat and even then the poorest people are not able to afford it each time.

Since the markets are usually held at or near a government center, the men take this occasion to transact any business they may have at this time, such as recording of births, securing of legal papers, or payment of taxes. Market day is the most important day of the week for most of the Kabyles.

Although the Kabyles are Moslems they have not hesitated to make contracts which are not in keeping with Moslem law. They have many and varied ways of contracting for the use of land, implements, labor, beasts. Hanoteau says that no legislation in the world presents for this kind of business such a variety and as strict a regulation as that of the Kabyles.[37]

It is impossible to present here all these various types of contracts but a few which seem to be typical and which show the variety used will be given.

The *thamr'arsith* is a contract by which a proprietor agrees to lease a piece of ground to another who is obligated on his side to plant fig or olive trees, on condition that at the end of a certain number of years, the proprietor of the land and the planter of the trees will divide the trees and land between them in a determined proportion. This type of contract is illegal from the standpoint of Moslem law.[38]

A contract known as *amriri* (reciprocal form of the verb *err* "render") is one by which two owners place together their oxen, seed and labor to cultivate their land, and divide equally the harvest. This contract ordinarily binds two Kabyles of different *çofs* or a Kabyle and a marabout. This places each of the associates under the *anaïa* of the other. Such an association has mutual assurance.[39]

Another form of contract which is forbidden by Moslem law is typically Kabyle and is known as *asedheref*. According to this contract one of the parties agrees to lend a sum of money to the other besides furnishing a pair of oxen and half the seed, while the other member furnishes the ground, the rest of the seed and a pair of oxen on condition that the harvest obtained by the aid of their common labor be equally divided. This agreement

[37] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 444.
[38] Ibid, p. 447.
[39] Ibid, p. 450.

is made before witnesses and closed by the recitation of the *fatiha*.[40] Although this kind of a contract is forbidden by Moslem law, it is made valid and sealed by the recitation of the *fatiha*.

An association which is forbidden by Moslem law and disapproved by public opinion, but which is nevertheless frequent in Kabylia is that known as *thikchi-n-ezzeria* (division of grain). The owner, who furnishes the ground, oxen, and implements and labor, receives only seed from another who takes the third of the harvest. Sometimes the first takes out the seed and then takes a fourth of the rest of the harvest.[41]

The *akhammas* (plural—*ikhammasen*, meaning fifth) is a very important kind of contract. The *akhammas* is the farmer of the last order who pays part of his rent in produce. He represents the proletariat, the common people, in Kabyle society. He has great importance for it is he who is the cornerstone of agriculture. A good *akhammas* brings comfort with him, a bad one brings difficulty and sometimes misery. The proverb says: *"Laz itsases si thoulaouin ner' seg ikhammasen."* (Hunger comes from the women or the *ikhammasen*.)

In this form of contract the owner furnishes the ground, the seed, the oxen and the implements. The *akhammas* brings only his labor. He must plow with only one pair of oxen on the arable land of the owner during the propitious season to prepare the soil. He cannot stop his work except with the consent of the owner or to fulfill his duties as a member of the *djemâa*. He divides with the owner certain parts of the work in the gathering of the crops.[42]

Animals are sometimes leased. According to this arrangement one man furnishes either the animals or the capital with which to buy such animals, while the second man agrees to nourish them and care for them, on condition of dividing the loss or gain resulting from the operation. Women often enter into similar agreements in the care of the poultry, and often this is a source of income for women who would otherwise have no money.

An understanding of these contracts is very important for those who work among the Kabyle people since it may explain

[40] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 455.
[41] Ibid, p. 456.
[42] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., pp. 457-458.

why they act as they do in certain situations. For example, a European furnished a Kabyle money with which to buy a cow. The Kabyle said that each time there was a calf, he would sell the calf and divide the money with his European friend. He fed the cow and cared for it, but after a short time the cow died. The European considering his money as a loan thought he should be repaid. The Kabyle considered the transaction in the light of the usual Kabyle contract, where one furnishes the money and the other buys the animal, nourishes it and cares for it, and both share the profit or loss. Since the cow died there was no profit, so the Kabyle felt the loss should be shared, he losing the care and nourishment he had furnished the cow, the European losing the money he had invested. Some looked upon the Kabyle man as dishonest and were troubled about him, while as a matter of fact, he was sincere and honest in his attitude in the light of Kabyle customary law.

The Kabyle never seems to like to work alone. He invariably makes a contract or forms some kind of a partnership or association.

> Partnership is the soul and life of Kabylia. In politics it forms the *kharouba,* the village, the tribe, the confederation. In civil rights one finds it everywhere from person to person, for the ground as for money, for agriculture as for commerce. The Kabyle who lives and works in isolation is an exception which, though custom authorizes, nevertheless usage reproves. The *thadoukeli* (from the Kabyle verb *eddoukal* "to unite") is an institution more than a contract. It is the antique pattern of the Kabyle family; it is the harmonious passion of the principle of fraternity with the unchangeable right of ownership, having for base the free consent and the respect of secular traditions.[43]

In the *thadoukeli b oukhkham* (the unity of the household) the partnership is in the general interest of the entire family. All work together for the common good. Yet in this partnership no one loses his individual liberty and all hereditary rights are honored. All the members of the family bring to this partnership all their wealth, for use only in common, and with it their labor and their skill. Hanoteau says of this: "In no nation is there found a combination which is nearer equality and farther from communism." [44]

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[43] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 468-469.
[44] Ibid, Vol. II, p. 469.

In a family partnership, since it is a patriarchal society, the eldest man in the household is charged with the administration of all. If he is too old or feeble or not competent to do this he usually names his eldest son to assume the responsibility. But the old man will have the final word. The family chief in the *thadoukeli b oukhkham* sees to the selling or renting of the ground, receives and makes payments as the needs require, superintends the planting, the harvesting and the marketing. However, he does not have unlimited power. The family works best in such a partnership when all members are happy and satisfied. Hence, it is to the interest of all for the chief to consult the family when an important transaction, such as the sale of property, is involved. The duration of the *thadoukeli b oukhkham* is never set in advance. It may continue through several generations. This of course adds prestige to the family in the eyes of their fellow villagers.

Herskovits writes: "One of the most striking aspects of primitive labor is the cooperation which characterizes it. Cooperative work is done by groups of all sizes and comprehends all kinds of tasks." [45] This is well demonstrated in the life of the Kabyle people where all types of societies are formed for industry, commerce, agriculture, and other things. There seems to be no combination so extraordinary that the Kabyle has not been able to realize and utilize it.

As has already been pointed out women make contracts or form societies for the raising of chickens. Sometimes it is done also by the children in various types of work.

The leaves of the ash tree are used as food for the oxen. Kabyles, having ash trees but no oxen, often enter into an agreement permitting the owner of the oxen to cut off the ash leaves for fodder. In return the recipient of the leaves uses his oxen to plow for the first man. This is only one example of the arrangements of this kind practiced by the Kabyles.

The Kabyle is not interested in whether or not there is equality in the association. In this Kabyle custom conflicts with Moslem law, which attempts to establish in the rules of society a strict proportion between what is bought and the benefit which accrues to bring into commerce equitable exchange. The Kabyles have no scruples about this, ignoring the Moslem precepts. They

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[45] Herskovits, M. J., *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples*, permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., publishers, p. 82.

have the principle of partnership in the blood and they do not hesitate to sanction alliances which are most unlike and in which the strict Moslem can see only monstrous anomalies.[46]

Often in Kabylia a man may have a piece of work which he cannot do alone so must ask the help of neighbors. A poor Kabyle man may need help which he cannot afford to hire in building a house; another may need assistance in felling a tree or in doing something else. Upon such an occasion the Kabyle calls upon the kindness of his neighbors to help. They never refuse him. This is known as *touiza,* voluntary help, (from the Kabyle verb *ouiz*—"to help"). Although such help does not entail any legal obligation, a man will return *touiza* whenever an opportunity presents itself. He has too much *nif* (self-respect) not to do so.

In each village there is a certain amount of public labor which must be done. It may be construction or repairs to the fountain, mosque, roads; guard duty, digging of graves, farm work on community property, transportation of wood for the *amin* and the marabouts, or other work concerning the community. Each man who is a member of the *djemâa* owes his personal labor each time that it is legally required. He not only owes his own labor but also that of his beasts of burden and his oxen. Obligatory work is for the benefit of the village, the tribe, the confederation. The blacksmiths and the masons are exempt from this personal labor. They fulfill their obligations by doing gratis whatever work along their line the village may need. The *amin* calls the men as they are needed for work.

Herskovits notes that among agricultural peoples the concept of private property in land, as such, exists but rarely, and that what is prized is the exclusive right to benefit from the produce raised on a given plot.[47] Quite the opposite is true among the Kabyles. They own land wherever possible. They hold in high respect all property and although there are often no markings each property owner always knows the exact limits of what belongs to him.

The passion of the people for a piece of ground is demonstrated in the extremes to which they will go in inheritance questions, and also in the strict laws they have regulating property.

[46] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 484.
[47] Herskovits, op. cit., p. 328.

They are very shrewd, too, in their ability to make a property deal. Often property claims are very involved in Kabylia and it is frequently a long and difficult process to get a clear title. This is due to the fact that there are so many false deeds in Kabylia. The *t'olba* (learned) are very adept in the making of these. Using paper yellowed by smoke and with the help of ink made from burned rags they are able to give the deed the appearance of authentic antiquity.[48]

The principle of solidarity which unites the members of a family extends to the soil. That which has been cultivated by their ancestors is sacred and they want to keep it in the family group. Custom is strong for this. If an owner is forced to sell, a contract is frequently drawn up which reserves to the owner a means eventually to come again into possession of his property.

The right of *chefâa* is practiced very extensively in Kabylia. It is the right of preference or of pre-emption established for the profit of certain categories of persons against the buyer. This right exists only for real estate among the Moslems of the Malakite rite, for the profit of the co-owner, of the associate and the co-heirs. In the selling of real estate Kabyle custom has fostered an exorbitant development of *chefâa* and has made of it a veritable social institution. The right of *chefâa* belongs to the co-owner, the associate, the co-heir, and relatives in the order of their succession rights, to the inhabitants of the village, and at last to all the members of the confederation (rights in the order named).[49]

The implications of this are most important. It assures the continuance of property in the direct family line. It is one more element of strength in the solidarity of the family. It makes it almost impossible for a stranger ever to acquire property in the village. Those who are establishing Mission stations in Kabylia would do well to recognize the implications and the obstacles offered by *chefâa* in the acquiring of property. What sometimes seems like hostility toward the Mission trying to buy property may be only the rigors of *chefâa.*

Even more important to the Kabyle than the ownership of land is the ownership of trees. Every man endeavors to acquire ownership of fig, and especially olive trees. It is in the produce of these trees that is found the real wealth of Kabylia. In many

[48] Hanoteau, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 366.
[49] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 401-402.

instances the owner of trees does not own the land upon which they are found. Lowie has mentioned that, "a very interesting detail of Oceanian real estate law is the proprietorship of fruit trees apart from the soil on which they are grown, a circumstance that has led to much confusion on the part of colonial administrators." [50]

There are instances in Kabylia where some trees are owned by two or even more people. The highest number the writer has known to claim ownership in a single tree was five—all having interest in the same carob tree. This is often brought about by inheritance rights.

When an olive or fig tree dies the owner of the tree has the right to replant twice and claim ownership of the new tree if it grows. If the first and second plantings are a failure then the owner of the tree which died has no more claim upon that spot of ground.

The ownership of trees without the ground is known as *abandou*. The owner of the ground has the right to cultivate close to the foot of the tree on condition that he does not injure the roots of the tree or the young shoots.

The question of private property cannot be treated apart from succession rights. While the Kabyle enjoys good health he is the owner and dispenser of what he has. True he is bound in some ways by custom and there are some things which he would not do with his property but while he lives he manipulates it more or less according to his caprice. But when he dies, the estate is subject to the inheritance rights. Women do not inherit in Kabylia although this is contrary to Moslem law.

The mosque, *djemâa*, fountain, markets and cemeteries are communal property. The duties of various individuals responsible for these have been discussed elsewhere. The responsibility of the villagers toward these communal properties has also been treated. As long as the cemeteries are used as burial grounds they remain inalienable. If they cease to be used for burial they cannot be plowed, built upon, or sold except at the expiration of a period of forty-five years. This is not always rigorously observed, however.[51]

Since the French government levies taxes upon the people they

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[50] Lowie, Robert H., *Primitive Society*, by permission of Liveright Publishing Corporation, p. 226.

[51] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 227.

no longer feel as much responsibility for the communal property as they did. The feeling is now quite general that it is up to the French government to make whatever repairs are necessary. If one walks through a village where the paths are exceedingly bad after heavy rains, and asks the men sitting idly about why they do not do something to improve the paths, the reply invariably is that such work is the responsibility of the *bailek* (government).

The Kabyles are very clever in the utilization of every opportunity for the making of a little money. This is often accomplished by renting certain articles which they own. Things which would ordinarily be lent are rented. They rent implements, pots, guns, even jewelry and musical instruments, the renting of which is strictly forbidden by Moslem law.

The Kabyles practice usury. This, too, is not in accordance with Moslem law. The Koran has the following to say on the question:

> Those who devour usury
> Will not stand except
> As stands one whom
> The Evil One by his touch
> Hath driven to madness.
> That is because they say:
> "Trade is like usury,"
> —But God hath permitted trade
> And forbidden usury.
> Those who after receiving
> Direction from their Lord,
> Desist, shall be pardoned
> For the past; their case
> Is for God (to judge);
> But those who repeat
> (The offence) are companions
> Of the Fire: they will
> Abide therein (forever).
>
> God will deprive
> Usury of all blessing.[52]

In spite of all this strict Koranic injunction against usury the Kabyles practice it without any regulations whatsoever. This

[52] *The Holy Qur'an* (Text, Translation and commentary by Abdullah, Yusuf Ali) Sura II: 275-276.

practice, which is so much a part of the economic life of the Kabyles, is sanctioned and favored by them in spite of their Moslem religion. The marabouts, out of respect for the Koran, refuse to act as arbitrators or judges in questions concerning usury.

Usury has certainly made the poor people poorer and the rich ones richer in Kabylia. Since it is not regulated there is no limit to the amount of interest which may be charged. Those borrowing money usually count on the results of the olive season to pay their debts but the exorbitant interest soon uses up the olive crop and the one who has borrowed is again forced to repeat the costly transaction.

In Kabylia the contraction of a debt is not an obligation involving only two people,—the person obligated and the lender —the prestige of the village is involved. A debtor is pledged to the *djemâa* to pay off his debt. Failure to pay makes the debtor subject to a fine from the *djemâa.*

The economic situation in Kabylia was greatly altered in one way after World War I by the exodus of many Kabyles to France to find employment. Large sums of money were sent back to relatives in Kabylia by many of these workmen. Some idea may be gained of the economic influence of the workers who went to France from the fact that the post office at Michelet (Great Kabylia) paid in one year from Kabyles in France eleven million francs (at the time paid about $440,000).[53]

Statistics compiled in 1928 gave the following facts concerning the 120,000 Kabyles who were then employed in France:

60% employed as laborers.

Only 20 had their wives with them.

700 were legally married to French women.

5,000 lived with French women. The illegitimate children are often registered as legitimate and there will be conflicts for succession rights between the French legislation and the Kabyle laws.

50% stay in France eight months only, returning home for Ramadan. 25% stay one and a half years, while 25% stay always.[54]

[53] Milliot, L., *Les Institutions Kabyles,* Revue des Etudes Islamiques, Tome VI, 1932, p. 163.

[54] Milliot, L., *Répartition des Kabyles dans La Région Parisienne,* Revue des Etudes Islamiques, Tome IV, 1930, pp. 161-169.

Families kept very poor by conditions in Kabylia have often been much improved by the material assistance of a member or members working in France. But their love for home and the soil sooner or later brings most of them back to Kabylia. Upon their return many have money enough to buy a few fig and olive trees, or a piece of ground. It is not possible to say whether work will again be possible in France at the close of the present World War. The large amount of unemployment in France in the years just preceding the present war caused French authorities to reduce to a minimum the number permitted to go from Kabylia to work in France.

Those who have worked in France have returned little influenced by European life. Many of them dress in European clothes, even to a European hat, while in France. But upon their return, at least the hat is discarded before leaving the boat, and the fez put on again. Most of the men return to their native villages to live exactly as they had lived before leaving. The majority of them stay such a short time in France, and even while there live in groups of their own, that they are little touched by French life.

Taxes in Kabylia are of two kinds—the government tax and the religious tax. Since the Kabyles have more money during the olive season than at any other time of the year, it is then that the government taxes are collected. The French authorities place the tax papers in the hands of the native government officer, the *caïd,* who usually gives them to the *amin* of the village to distribute and to collect the taxes. The *caïd* sometimes comes himself.

When taxes are paid direct to these native officers, very often no receipts are given and it is not uncommon for a Kabyle to receive notice later on that his taxes have not been paid. It happens not infrequently that the taxpayer is obliged to pay more than once.

The taxes are high for the huts in which the Kabyles live. In villages where pottery is made there is an additional assessment for the privilege of getting the wood in the forest to use in firing the pottery.

The Kabyles also have a special tax called *thabezert* (from the Arabic بزرة, which means "seed" and by extension among the Kabyles has the meaning of "collection"). This is levied by

the *djemâa* at the time needed and for the purpose needed and may be a tax in kind or in money.

The religious taxes are the *âchour* and the *fet'era*. The *âchour* (from the Arabic عشر 'Ushr, meaning "tenth"). This is a tax on the harvest. Although it is called the "tenth" the tax does not usually exceed two percent. The *âchour* is paid at the time of the termination of the harvest of each product. This tax is paid only by those having a harvest. The *djemâa* specifies the days when the *âchour* is to be brought in. In company with the *t'emman* the *amin* visits the homes and the products are measured in his presence. The *âchour* is distributed at the discretion of the *djemâa* among the marabouts, poets, poor and others. Whatever is left of the *âchour* after the customary distributions have been made is the property of the *djemâa* and can be sold and the money used as it wishes, except that it cannot be employed for a distribution of meat.

The *fet'era* is a payment of the harvest tax levied only on certain things. This is collected at the time of the festival *l'aïd eççer'ir*, the day when the fast ends *(fet'er)*. This tax is destined to be distributed among the poor. It is a tax consecrated by the example of the Prophet. The Kabyles pay the exact amount of four small measures called *medd-en-Nebi* (measures of the Prophet) for each person in the family, small or large, of both sexes. It is about a half liter. Many even give for dead members. The poor who do not have crops pay the *fet'era* on what they receive from the rich in alms. Each one gives according to his means but no one fails in this duty. To fail would be to lose the merit of the fast. The measure is made during the night preceding the fete, a little before sunrise.

In many villages the *djemâa*, fixes the amount to come to it from the *fet'era*, but only counting living people. It is ordinarily one half to one third. This part is distributed between the immam, the marabouts and the poor of the village. Often this serves as the salary of the imam although this disposition is contrary to the prescriptions of Koranic law. The villagers who let their marabouts choose the imam, usually allow them to distribute the *fet'era*.

After the official deduction the family disposes of the rest. Not being rigid observers of the religious law, they use a part to pay their municipal or family expenses. What they contribute for nursing children is usually given to the midwife. The rest

is distributed among the poor and the strange beggars who are everywhere on the day of a fete. All must be given away the same day.[55]

Besides the taxes the village has the following sources of income:

(a) Fines imposed for infractions of the *kanoun*.

(b) Fees paid at the time of birth, circumcision, marriage, death, and entrance into the *djemâa*.

(c) Fees assessed strangers who reside in the village.

(d) Income from communal property.

(e) Voluntary subscriptions made with the authorization of the *djemâa* for a special purpose.

(f) Gifts made either by living donors or through wills.

Certain of these funds are expended for village obligations but a large part is used for the *themichert*.

Poverty is the common lot of large numbers of the people. In the eyes of the Kabyle it is no disgrace. It induces no feelings of shame nor of disdain. The Kabyle feels that it has "happened" to him and that it might happen to anyone. He assumes that he has no volition or responsibility in the matter. He readily accepts help and feels no compunctions about it. To him it is neither humiliating nor degrading to accept aid. Charity is both public and private.

Every village has its beggars. It is often the policy of the beggars to travel long distances into other tribes to make solicitations. Old women beg in distant villages, often going two by two. Beggars are found near the mosques. Those who come to the door are never turned away empty handed, sometimes it is a crust of bread, sometimes a few figs, again, a handful of barley. Little by little a beggar's bag is filled in less time than one might think while contributors rejoice in the added merit they will receive for their alms.

It is not always the extremely destitute who beg. Sometimes those who have no need to beg do so. They dare not try it in their own village, but in a strange village they can beg in safety and to their profit. Some villages in recent years have tried somewhat to regulate this by orders from their amin or imam not to assist those coming from distant tribes. But the people do receive them and do help them.

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[55] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 39-41.

Westermarck, in trying to explain this urge to give, says: "The curses and blessings of the poor partly account for the fact that charity has come to be regarded as a religious duty, containing, as they generally do, the invocation of a god." [56]

In many places in Kabylia there are fig trees which are reserved exclusively for the poor. The rich when dying often will some fig and olive trees to the use of the poor. Hanoteau says that during the terrible famine in North Africa in 1867-68 the Kabyles fed all who came to them, some even coming from distant Morocco. Fort National with a population of 76,000 cared for at least 12,000. They never complained and never asked France for any help.[57]

For the most part the Kabyles are poor, but they make good use of all the economic resources they have. In their industries we see striking survivals of ancient Libya. In their economic procedure we see much that is in keeping with primitive life. Legislation by France touching the economic life of the people is bringing about changes whether the people want them or not. The economic philosophy of the Kabyle is an expression of solidarity and must be understood by anyone wanting to improve the economic status of this people.

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[56] Westermarck, E., *Early Beliefs and Their Social Influence,* by permission of the Macmillan Company, publishers, p. 46.

[57] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 57.

CHAPTER VI

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE KABYLES

THE Kabyles are usually designated as Orthodox Moslems, belonging to the Sunnite branch and the Malikite rite. The Sunnites are those who observe and follow Mohammed's sunna which comprises his deeds, utterances, and his unspoken approval. It means in reality being imitators of Mohammed. "He who tires of my sunna, does not belong to me" (Bukhārī. *Nikāh,* bab. 1). "Those who abandon Mohammed's *sunna* are cursed by Allah, Mohammed and all the prophets."

The division of Islam into Shī'a and Sunna is generally known in the west. In opposition to Shī'a, "the people of the sunna and of the community" are those who refrain from deviating from dogma and practice. The companions are the propagators of the sunna. Sunna is fixed orally and in writing in the Hadīth. Although the conception of sunna and hadīth are separate in theory, they often coincide in practice. The Sunna is not given in a form equally canonical with the Koran but it is a standard of conduct alongside of the Koran.[1]

The Malikite rite takes its name from the great Moslem jurist Malik ben Anās, who interpreted Tradition from the point of view of practice, considering it not an end but a means.[2]

The Kabyles may be accounted as Orthodox Moslems to the degree that they accept the Shahada or creed of Islam. This says: "I witness that there is no God but Allah, and I witness that Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah."

The Kabyles practice circumcision as prescribed by the Moslems. Most Moslems, though not all, practice circumcision. It is not considered essential in Morocco where a number of Berber tribes do not practice it.[3] Although not universally practiced in Islam, it is generally regarded as one of the marks of a Moslem.[4] Circumcision is not once alluded to in the Koran but the Moslems hold this as sunna and date its institution from the time

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[1] Wensinck, A. J., *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. 4, Pt. 1, pp. 555-557.

[2] Schacht, J., *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. 3, Pt. 1, pp. 205-209.

[3] Rohlfs, G., *Adventures in Morocco,* p. 75.

[4] Levy, R., *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam,* Vol. I, p. 214, Note.

of Abraham. In the *Sahīhu 'l-Bukhārī*, p. 931, three traditions are given relative to circumcision: Abū Hurairah relates that the Prophet said that one of the observances of the *Fitrah* is circumcision. Abū Hurairah relates that the Prophet said that Abraham was circumcised when he was eighty years old. Said ibn Jubair relates that it was asked of Ibn 'Abbās, "How old were you when the Prophet died?" He replied, "I was circumcised in the days when it occurred." [5] It would be difficult to say that the Kabyles did not employ circumcision prior to becoming Moslem. With the strong Jewish influence in the country and the fact that circumcision has always been practiced among many primitive peoples it would be surprising if the Kabyles only began to employ this rite upon embracing Islam. The Kabyles have two words which they employ for circumcision, the Arabic words ختن *khitan* and طهر *t'hara*. The term *khitan* is used exclusively in connection with the circumcision of males.[6] The term *t'hara* means purity, ceremonial purification. It has become the common name for circumcision and the ceremonies accompanying it.[7]

Kabyle boys are usually circumcised between the ages of six and eight. The ceremony very often takes place at the time of some Moslem fete but may be done at any time of the year except during Ramadan. Since a feast to which relatives are invited is always held at the time of circumcision, to combine this event with some other Moslem fete is often done for reasons of economy. The festivities may last all night, with vulgar dancing performed by the women, or by special singers and dancers hired for the occasion. Couscous is served to all the guests. The operation is usually performed by the barber or circumciser of the village. Crude instruments, a knife or razor are used and often there is infection because of the unsanitary way in which this operation is performed. Many cases of infection have come to the attention of those in charge of Mission dispensaries, where the victims have been brought for care when the infection has become serious.

The Orthodox Moslem fast, Ramadan, which bears the name of the ninth month of the Moslem calendar, is kept by the Kabyles as by all Moslems.

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[5] Hughes, T. P., *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 57.
[6] Cour, A., *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol.* 2, p. 956.
[7] Tritton, A. S., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 4, Pt. 1, p. 608.

Ramadan is the month
In which was sent down
The Quran, as a guide
To mankind, also clear (Signs)
For guidance and judgment
(Between right and wrong)
So every one of you
Who is present (at his home)
During that month
Should spend it in fasting,
But if anyone is ill,
Or on a journey,
The prescribed period
(Should be made up)
By days later.
God intends every facility
For you; He does not want
To put you in difficulties.
He wants you to complete
The prescribed period,
And to glorify Him,
In that He has guided you;
And perchance ye shall be grateful.[8]

Since the date of Ramadan is reckoned by the lunar month, it comes eleven days earlier each year. The name is from the root "r-m-d," refers to the heat of summer and therefore shows in what season the month fell when the ancient Arabs still endeavored to equate their year with the solar year by intercalary months.[9]

During the month of Ramadan the Kabyles fast from before sunrise to sunset. In fact it is even longer in the summer for the fast officially lasts until it is no longer possible to distinguish a hair in the light. No food or drink are taken during this time, but there is no limit to the amount of food which may be consumed during the night. A survey of the markets in Kabylia revealed the fact that more and better food is consumed by most of the people during Ramadan than during any other time of the year.

While the fast is in progress, there is much unrest and tension

[8] Abdullah Yusef Ali, *The Holy Quran, Text, Translation & Commentary,* Sura XI: 185.

[9] Plessner, M., *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. 3, Pt. 2, p. 1111.

in the villages. Sleep is of course broken as the people may spend much of the night in eating. From every Kabyle village the call goes out between two and three o'clock in the morning summoning the people to "Rise and eat, rise and eat." This injunction is of course preceded by the introductory phrase, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is His Apostle." The call is not given in the language of the people, it is given in Arabic. Most of the Kabyles do not understand literally what is being said but they know it is the call to eat and that when that call is answered it will be the last food and drink that may be taken until the fast ends at the next sundown.

Long hours without either food or drink and with broken sleep often make the people very irritable. Many Kabyle men have admitted that they are always worse spiritually at the end of Ramadan than at the beginning, because they have become so easily exasperated. Kabyle women are fearful during Ramadan for it is the time when usually more divorces occur than at any other time of the year. This is not unexpected in view of the excitement, impatience and disruption of normal life which prevails among the people at this time.

Yet the women are the most fanatical observers of Ramadan. In many villages today the younger men do not keep the fast. But they would not let this fact be known to the women of the village nor to others who so rigorously observe it. One Kabyle man told the writer that one day during Ramadan when he was coming home from market, he left the main highway and found a secluded spot in order to partake of food unobserved by his fellow countrymen. But he soon found that he was not alone. Several other men were doing the same thing. Had this been known in the village, there would have been violent protests, especially on the part of the women. During menstruation the women are not required to keep the fast but they must make up the number of days missed after Ramadan is terminated. According to Moslem teaching a woman is considered unclean during menstruation[10] so that the efficacy of the fast would be lost if observed under these conditions.

The children are anxious to begin observing the fast as soon as possible. At first they may keep it only for a day or two, then perhaps for a couple of days each week, until they become old enough and strong enough to keep the fast for the entire

[10] Hughes, T. P., *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 347

period of thirty days. There is no fixed age at which the children begin to observe the fast. They take great pride in participating in it, and the women are especially proud of their children when they begin the observance.

The Kabyle, always interested in whatever may be to his advantage, may even forego Ramadan, (probably making it up later in a special fast) if it be to his gain. A man sent his sixteen-year-old grandson to the Hostel of a Christian Mission. When Ramadan came this boy announced to the director of the institution that he wished to keep the fast. The boy was told that Ramadan observance would be impossible in the set-up of the Hostel and that if he insisted upon keeping the fast he must return home to do so. The director got in touch with the boy's grandfather who said that the boy was not to observe Ramadan but to do as the others in the Hostel. The grandfather was in no way a liberal Moslem; he was a strictly orthodox one, even compelling a Christian daughter-in-law to observe the fast. But he was anxious for his grandson to have the education afforded him at the Hostel in order that he might obtain government employment later on; hence he yielded a point in Islam in such a case. However, this liberty taken by the Moslem Kabyles in the keeping of Ramadan is not peculiar to them alone. It does sometimes occur in other places.

The law permits relaxations from the keeping of the fast to the sick when there is no hope, to pregnant or nursing women, other sick people, travelers, and those doing heavy labor.[11] It is not difficult to interpret the law in such a way that when necessary one may fall under a category having relaxation privileges. This does not mean that the fast is not taken seriously. Quite the contrary. It is taken very seriously and observed rigidly. When relaxation is permitted the law is considered to be fulfilled.

The fast is observed during the entire lunar month of Ramadan. However, if at the end of the month the moon is not visible, the fast is continued another day or two to be sure that the right calculation has been made. In Kabyle villages there is often some uncertainty as to the exact date when Ramadan begins and ends. It often happens that there is a discrepancy of a day or two between the time when the fast begins and ends in Kabylia and the time set for it in Algiers. This may be due

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[11] Berg, C. C., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 4, Part 1, p. 195-6.

to the fact that in many villages the iman is not well informed for it is he who notifies the people when the fast is to begin.

The days immediately before the ending of the fast are ones of preparation. The women spend long hours at the village fountain washing their clothes. Henna is prepared and the palms of the hands and soles of the feet are dipped in this just as soon as the new moon is seen and the fast is officially declared over. When the henna has been applied it is the signal to the children that the festivities have begun. Among the boys the expression of their joy may take quite a violent form. For example, the boys of Z—— having just dipped their hands, called to the boys of A——, a village on the hill-top below, saying that if they were men they would come up to meet them for a fight. The boys of A——, hands dipped in henna, accepted the challenge and soon the two groups met. It was not an insignificant skirmish for amid the yells of both groups, the boys charged each other with stones and clubs, especially stones.

As soon as the new moon is seen the women give the *yū-yū* shouts, the children clap their hands and shout, while the men prepare the village fire. Each village lights a fire so that from every hill-top there is soon a blaze. This is a beautiful sight as one looks across the mountains of Kabylia and sees dozens of these fires. Asked to explain the fire, the Kabyles say that it is the signal of rejoicing that the fast is ended, and that it also serves to let the surrounding villages know that the moon has been seen and that the fast is over. How much efficacy, if any, the people believe the fire and ashes to possess for illness or the warding off of evil spirits is not clear.

Quite naturally the best clothes are worn on this festival occasion, the women wearing much jewelry. The girls are permitted to wear some of the mother's jewelry at this time. The special food used for this celebration is *thisfenjeneth,* a kind of fritter which may be made from barley or wheat flour, to which yeast has been added. A dough is made into a consistency which can be rolled as thin as a knife blade, folded over and fried in deep olive oil. This fete terminating Ramadan is known as *L'aïd Esserir.* The men attend the service at the mosque on this day when prayers are offered that Allah may be pleased with the fast which has been kept. At the termination of the service offerings may be made in kind or in money. There is a rather striking feature in the presentation of these gifts. Not all the gift is

given by any one donor at one time. For example, if a man has five francs to offer, he may give it one franc at a time, or even in smaller amounts. Each time a gift is offered all those present unite in calling down the benediction of Allah upon the giver. For this reason each one is anxious to give several times in order that the blessing of Allah may fall upon him as often as possible. Only the men and boys assist at this service.

Seventy days after *L'aïd Esserir* comes the most important Moslem fete, *L'aïd el-Kebir*. It comes at the time of the ceremonies of the pilgrims to Mecca. This commemorates the sacrifice of Ishmael, son of Abraham, when God miraculously saved him from the sacrifice by substituting a sheep.[12] For weeks before this fete occurs, Kabyles are making arrangements to buy a sheep. Even in most of the poorer huts a sheep will be in the proud possession of the family. Sometimes a child in school will be obliged to stay at home to care for the sheep, to take it to pasture and to water. It is surprising how many of the very poor families will have a sheep for this important time. If they have not the money—and many of them do not have,—they often borrow it even at such a high rate of interest that they may still be trying to pay off the debt when the next year's festival approaches. But this will not deter them from buying a sheep again and going into debt for it, if it is at all possible to get the money for such a purchase.

The same preparations in regard to washing the clothes, and the use of henna, are employed as for *L'aïd Esserir*. One or two days before the fete, the markets are held so that all necessary supplies may be purchased. Each man buys extra sweets, or clothing, or such trinkets for the members of his family as he can afford.

Men of the family who are working in Algiers or elsewhere outside Kabylia make every effort to return home. It is said that 58% of the Kabyles who go to France to work come home at Ramadan even if it occurs before they have been away a year. All work is at a standstill for at least three days. This does not mean that the work among the Kabyles alone is affected but much European work suffers, too, for wherever these Moslems are employed they will leave their work to be with their families at this time. How strong the family tie is, may be observed when *L'aïd el-Kebir* comes, for even at the threat of losing his

[12] Koran, Sura XXXVII: 99-111.

job, the Kabyle will leave his work to be at home for the fete. Many weddings and circumcisions are held in connection with this festival.

As at the time of *L'aïd Esserir* the men all go to the mosque for prayer. Though some may not attend the prayer offered at *L'aïd Esserir,* it is very rarely that the Moslem in Kabylia does not attend the prayer of *L'aïd el-Kebir.* Soualah makes the observation that after the prayer the faithful pardon each other's offenses.[13] This probably does happen in many instances. Yet it is a time when tragedy often asserts itself. In a certain village on one such occasion, when the men were assembled for prayer, a man enveloped in his burnous, prostrated himself for prayer behind another. The propitious moment arrived, and pulling out the pistol he had hidden under his burnous, he fired upon the man at prayer in front of him. *Rekba* had had its revenge.

The prayer terminated, the men return home to kill their sheep. While they are preparing the sacrificial victims the women are busy preparing large amounts of cous-cous. When the sheep has been killed, some of the blood is smeared on the door, and some is rubbed on the large earthen jars in the hut where the figs, oil, and other food supplies are kept. Those who are ill, and especially those who suffer from eye diseases, bathe their eyes in the blood or drink a little of it. The Kabyles claim that the blood so used has healing qualities for those who are ill, and that smeared on the jars of provisions portends plenty in the year ahead. Doutté observes that the blood from animals sometimes drunk, sometimes used in other ways, is considered especially efficacious among primitive peoples.[14]

Often the people have bootleg gunpowder in their huts at this time to use in their celebrations, and this has often brought tragedy. In one instance a child found the gunpowder, played with it too near the fire and it exploded, burning him so severely that he died some hours after he was treated at a Mission dispensary. The father also was severely burned. The family tried to cover up what had happened by claiming the child had been scalded.

Another Moslem fete observed in Kabylia is the *Achourâ* ('Ashura عشورة) which occurs the tenth of the month of Mo-

[13] Soualah, Mohammed, *La Société Indigène de L'Afrique du Nord,* 2ème Partie, p. 220.

[14] Doutté, E., *Magic and Religion,* p. 451.

harrem. This is in memory of the tragic death of al-Husain, son of Eli, and of Fatima Zohra, ancestors of the *Cherifs*. On occasion in Kabylia the animal or animals are often furnished by the *djemâa*. In some places in Kabylia the tail of the sheep sacrificed for *L'aïd el-Kebir* is cooked at this time.[15] In Greater Kabylia, a young man dressed in European clothes and wearing a costume made from the skin of a jackal, and holding a long bludgeon, accompanied by a crowd, goes from door to door asking for pancakes.[16]

L'aïd el-Mouloud, celebrating the birth of Mohammed is a very important festival in Kabylia. There is not much difference between this and other Moslem fetes in the type of celebration. Always there are gifts for the poor, feasting, the wearing of festive clothes, and no work. Martin is of the opinion that *L'aïdel-Mouloud* is so well observed because as Christians the Berbers celebrated Christmas.[17] Whether or not we can accept this for the particular group of Berbers in question depends upon how Christian they ever were. This will be treated later.

In discussing the festivities at the close of Ramadan, mention was made of the use of henna on the hands and feet. Not only is this used at the time of this fete, it is used on all festival occasions. The henna is prepared from leaves of the henna shrub which have been dried and powdered. This plant grows all over North Africa. Dr. J. Forbes Royle observes that the custom of dyeing the nails and palms of the hands and soles of the feet an iron-rust color with henna exists throughout the East from the Mediterranean to the Ganges, as well as in North Africa.[18] The use of this is very old.

Lady Callcott in *Scripture Herbal* calls attention to the fact that "most authors of note who have attended to the botany of the Scriptures are of opinion that in Solomon 1:14 and 4:13 the word translated camphire should have been translated henna." She further observes that "if the Jewish women were not in the habit of using Camphor or Henna, before the time of Solomon, might it not have been introduced among them by his wife, the daughter of Pharaoh; in which case it would be natural for him to plant it for her use in the vineyards of

[15] Soualah, op. cit., p. 226.
[16] Idem.
[17] Martin, A. G. P., *Précis de Sociologie Nord-Africaine,* p. 62.
[18] *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 11th Edition, Vol. XIII, p. 271.

Engeddi." [19] With this widespread and very ancient use of henna it is difficult to say when and why the Kabyles began to use it. With the Jewish influence felt in Kabylia at an early date, it is likely that if the Kabyles did not employ henna before this, they might have learned it from the Jews. Hence, it cannot be said with accuracy that henna was introduced among the Kabyles at the time they became Moslem. Henna does not have any religious significance to the Kabyles but is employed by the women to make themselves appear more beautiful. It is always used on all festive occasions, not only by the women and children, but also by many of the Kabyle men. It is used at other than festival times as a prophylactic measure against vermin.

In describing *L'aïd Esserir,* mention was made of the lighting of fires in the villages. What is the significance of this? Frazer in discussing festival fires speaks of the custom of kindling bonfires on Midsummer Day or Midsummer Eve as being widespread among the Mohammedan peoples of North Africa, particularly in Morocco and Algeria. This occurs on the twenty-fourth of June and it is called *l'ansara.* People expose themselves to the smoke and sometimes leap across the fires, and bring their sick in contact with them. He concludes:

> "The celebration of a midsummer festival by Mohammedan peoples is particularly remarkable because the Mohammedan calendar, being purely lunar and uncorrected by intercalation, necessarily takes no note of festivals which occupy fixed points in the solar year; all strictly Mohammedan feasts being pinned to the moon, slide gradually with that luminary through the whole period of the earth's revolution about the sun. This fact of itself seems to prove that among the Mohammedan peoples of Northern Africa, as among the Christian peoples of Europe the midsummer festival is quite independent of the religion which the people publicly profess, and is a relic of a far older paganism." [20]

Mention was also made in connection with *L'aïd Esserir* of the boys who met to challenge each other with stones. From whence came such a custom as this? Herodotus speaks of the

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[19] Callcott, Maria, *Scripture Herbal,* by permission of Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., publishers. pp. 78-83.

[20] Frazer, Sir James George, *The Golden Bough,* by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, p. 631 ff.

annual festival of Minerva when the virgins of the Machlyes and the Auses, "dividing themselves into two companies fight together with stones and staves, affirming that they perform the ancient rites to their native goddess." [21] Gsell cites an instance from the writings of St. Augustine (De doctrina christiana IV, 24, 53) in which he tells of a very ancient custom which occurs each year when the people of Cherchell (Algeria) divide themselves into two camps to fight with stones. St. Augustine made them renounce this.[22] Perhaps here is the source of an ancient pagan survival in Moslem Kabylia.

It has been pointed out that the Kabyles who are Orthodox Moslems of the Sunni branch and the Malakite rite accept the Shahada, practice circumcision, observe Ramadan, and celebrate the following Moslem fetes: L'aid Esserir, L'aïd el-Kebir, the Achourâ and L'aïd el-Mouloud. However there are some things in which the Kabyle Moslems do not conform to Orthodox Moslem practices.

Contrary to the custom of Moslem peoples practiced in so many parts of the world of Islam, the women of Kabylia do not veil. This custom which has been the concern of those who would better the condition of Moslem women, has never been an issue in Kabylia. It took government legislation in Turkey in 1924 to abolish the veil and to give to the Moslem women there this freedom which Kabyle women seem always to have had. In Kabylia the women are seen in the fields, at work, going to the fountain, passing from village to village (usually accompanied) always unveiled. No woman is looked upon askance for being seen thus. It is a recognized custom of the Moslem Kabyles, and the people themselves do not consider that they are unorthodox because their women go unveiled. Here again we see the Kabyle spirit of independence in action. In ancient Arabia the women of the desert dwellers were unveiled.[23] The Tuareg women, also Berber, found on the Sahara desert, do not veil. Ibn Batoutah recounts that the women of the Messoûfetes (probably the Tuareg) had no feeling of embarrassment in the presence of men and did not veil even though they

[21] Herodotus, Translation by A. D. Godley, IV: 180.

[22] Gsell, S., *Histoire Ancienne de L'Afrique du Nord*, Vol. 1, p. 242, note 10.

[23] Levy, R., *The Sociology of Islam*, Vol. 1, p. 176.

were Moslem.[24] He could well have said the same of the Kabyle women. Levy also mentions the Bedouin women of Arabia, and the Kurds, as not veiling. He feels that economic conditions have in places prevented the women from veiling, that where the women do hard manual work in the house or out of doors, veiling would be impossible.[25] When the Kabyle women go from their mountain villages to the cities of Algeria they wear the veil, and as long as they live in the cities they use it. This is necessary because of the sentiment in the cities which would cause unveiled women in native dress to be looked upon as unchaste.

Not only are the women unveiled, but the whole civil code of Islam has been rejected. The Kabyles are dogged followers of custom. In place of the Koranic code they follow their own *Kanoun*. Some of the Koranic civil code which was accepted at first was later rejected. In 1737 one tribe and in 1748 another, set aside the inheritance laws of the Koran and took up again their own customary law of succession rights for the men.[26] This act was celebrated in one village by the erection of one stone upon another—the Kabyle way of sealing a covenant.[27] This rude "monument" in Kabylia signifies there today the dominance of man (upper stone) over woman (base stone). A few years ago a group of French students touring through Kabylia saw this monument and when told what it symbolized, overthrew the top stone. This caused high feeling in the village. The men came together and replaced the stone. In refusing to keep the Koranic code the Kabyles say that these prescriptions were made for a country very different from theirs and for a people who did not have their customs nor their way of living.

> Hanoteau says: "The faith of the Prophet of Medina triumphed over the earlier beliefs of the Kabyles, but their ancient customs survived; in modern times the changes which have modified the rules of their civil law are often contrary to Moslem law and seem consecrated to a return of the primitive spirit of the race, temporarily restrained." [28]

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[24] Defrémery, C., et Sanguinetti, *Traduction, Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah*, Tome IV, p. 388.

[25] Levy, op. cit., p. 181.

[26] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 8.

[27] Ibid, Vol. I, p. 377.

[28] Ibid, Vol. II, p. 135.

The Kabyles believe in evil spirits. Like all Moslem peoples, the fear of *djnoun*[29] plays an important role in their life. These are usually invisible but are capable of assuming various forms,[30] sometimes the form of snakes, lizards, dogs, cats and other animals. They may assume most fantastic shapes and at other times very repulsive forms. A Kabyle man speaking of the *djnoun* one day said that he had seen one. He related how he was wending his way up the steep, rugged mountain path to his home late one night. It was very dark. Suddenly there loomed up in front of him a donkey without any head or feet. This man was convinced that he had seen a *djinn* though he did not know from whence it had come nor whither it was going. He asserted that it walked before him for some distance up the path, then disappeared as suddenly as it had come. To have attempted to harm the *djinn* would have brought trouble to the man who saw it and he would not have hurt the *djinn* in any way.

One morning at a very early hour a Kabyle ran breathless into the railroad station at an isolated place in the mountains. He recounted that as he came down the hill, a queer shape suddenly sprang up in front of him. The man was terribly frightened to see this *djinn* loom up in the middle of his path. He ran round it and did not stop his flight until, breathless, he reached his destination. To tell a Kabyle that it was an hallucination or a delusion, would in no way satisfy him. To him the *djnoun* are real, very real. How often have Kabyle women explained bruises which they have found on their bodies by saying that during the night they were kicked by a *djinn*.

Very often Kabyles coming to the dispensary for treatment attribute their illness to the *djnoun*. This conception is found in such an account as that recorded in Mark 9:17-18, though we do not find it in the Old Testament stories. One young man in a Kabyle village who was very ill was treated by the sheikh because his family and friends insisted that he was possessed by an evil spirit. This belief often keeps people who are ill from seeking medical aid, preferring to seek Moslem help to get rid of the evil spirits.

The Kabyles believe that whenever a child is born, a *djinn* is born at the same time in some corner of the house. This may bring harm to the child, so that means are used to expel it from

[29] Kabyle Plural of Djenn (corresponding to Djenni sing. in Arabic).
[30] Nöldeke, Th., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 669.

the house. This is sometimes done by making a noise and beating on the floor. In some homes on the eighth day after birth the mid-wife performs certain ceremonies to drive out the evil spirit. The wrists of the baby are slashed to let out any *djnoun* that might be in the body of the child. The mid-wife takes a reed pole and pounds on the floor, on the walls and in the corners of the hut, while all the women in the hut join her in yelling savagely. It is believed that this will frighten the *djinn* and drive it away.

> "The beliefs and practices relating to the *jinn* which prevail in Mohammedan countries may be divided into different strata: many of them have been preserved from the Old Arabic paganism, others were introduced by the new religion, and others were added from earlier beliefs and practices prevalent in the countries to which it spread."
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> "Many characteristics of the eastern *jinn* are so widespread in the world of spirits that it would be a marvel if they had been lacking in those of the early Berbers living in North Africa at the arrival of the Arabs. The Berbers had their sacred stones, rocks, caves, mountains, and springs; and it is obvious that while in some cases the supernatural beings or influences associated with these objects were absorbed by the Mohammedan doctrine of saints, they were in other cases included among the *jinn*. In no other way could we explain the great prevalence of haunted places among the Berbers of today. And in other respects also their belief in spirits presents traits which make it impossible to doubt that it has a deep foundation in the antiquity of their own race." [31]

Closely related to the belief in *djnoun* is the belief in *Chitan* (the devil). A woman brings her child to the dispensary because it has been badly burned. During the mother's inattention, the child had fallen into the open fire. Being asked what happened, the mother will invariably give one of two answers, "It was God's will" or "It was *Chitan*." The Kabyles hold the popular Moslem view that every man is attended by an angel and a *chitan* who urge him to good or evil deeds respectively.[32] One often hears a mother addressing her disobedient child as *"chi-*

[31] Westermarck, E., *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization*, by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, pp. 12-13.

[32] Tritton, A. S., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 286.

tan." This word is often used in name-calling when one is angry.

The Kabyles believe firmly in the power of the evil eye. Not infrequently when a child dies its death is attributed to this influence. For protection against this, a Kabyle baby is kept within the security of the family hut for the first three months of its life. Sickness, death, disease, misfortune, may all be caused by an evil eye. Amulets of various kinds are worn as a protective measure against this foe. Westermarck feels that it is safe to assume that the present belief in the evil eye in North Africa has derived not only from Asia but also from Berber antiquity though he concedes that we cannot know when nor how though he feels it contains elements of genuine Berber origin.[33]

Various kinds of amulets are used by the people to protect themselves against the *djnoun* and against other unknown forces that might harm them. These charms are used from the time a child is born until he dies.

> "When a child is born in Algeria a plant is placed over the cradle to keep away the evil spirits. A knife, a piece of salt, and a pail of water are put at the cradle head for the same purpose. Water is considered a specially good protector. When a child is born, at the same time a little demon is brought into the world whose birth takes place in the cupboard or the wall. If the child is prettier than the demon, the latter gets jealous and causes the child to have convulsions. The woman then goes round the court, and standing still in one corner converses with the demon, beseeching it to leave her little one in peace." [34]

To the cap of a baby will be found tied the tooth of a wild boar, a small bag of sugar, and one of spice. The tooth is worn so that the child will be sure to grow strong, the sugar is to give the child a good disposition, the spice to induce the child to sleep well. The Kabyles believe in the efficacy of the wild boar's tooth though the meat of the animal is taboo for them as is all pork. This taboo applies to Moslems and Orthodox Jews, as well. Many amulets are worn containing verses of the Koran which are presumed to be especially efficacious. These

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[33] Ibid, p. 57.

[34] Trotter, L., Superstitions in Algeria, *The Moslem World*, Vol. 12, 1922, pp. 342-347.

are prepared by the marabouts and sold by them to the people. They are bought for various prices, depending upon their intended use. Even the very poorest Kabyle will somehow manage to gather a few pennies with which to buy a charm; the most expensive is one bought by men to make them immune to gunfire. Amulets are worn to ward off illness, to cure illness, to ward off danger, to protect against the evil eye and the *djnoun*. Little children wear them fastened to their caps. The women and girls wear them around their necks or fastened to their belts. The men and boys wear them around their necks, fastened to the fez, or fastened to the watch chain.

The "hand of Fatima" is much employed in Kabylia as an emblem to ward off the evil eye. Men sometimes fasten this to the turban or watch chain. The women or children wear it as they do other amulets. This symbol is in the form of an open hand. The name which has been given to it by Europeans leads one to think that it is Moslem. This is not true. It is probably a Punic symbol which has survived among the people in North Africa. Not only is this sign used in the sense of power and protection, but it is used among the Moslems and Jews of North Africa as a prophylactic sign. Bel calls attention to the fact that this prophylactic symbol is very ancient, as there is evidence of its existence in Babylon, ancient Egypt,[35] and also in prehistoric cave paintings. Representations of a hand with its five fingers extended are found on buildings or tombs in ancient Egypt, Babylon, Phoenicia, Carthage and India, while hand-shaped amulets were used by the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans. Westermarck thinks we have reason to believe that these representations of the hand were in many cases used as charms against the evil eye.[36]

The Kabyles sometimes have the hand painted over the door of their hut. McCulloch says in regard to this use of it:

> "A hand usually with fingers extended is often found on houses, temples, and buildings of all kinds, especially on or above the door, to avert the evil eye or other witchcraft, or to prevent the entrance of malicious beings. It is painted or the impression of a hand dipped in blood is made on the surface. The range of this custom is very

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[35] Bel, A., *La Religion Musulmane en Berbérie*, p. 81.

[36] Westermarck, F., op. cit., p. 24.

wide; it is found in ancient Babylon, Phoenicia, Carthage, Egypt, Japan, and India, and it is practiced in the East by Jews and Muslims." [37]

Representations of the hand used as a charm against the evil eye are found today all over Northern Africa, and in Syria, Palestine, Persia, India, and South Europe. The hand with the five outstretched fingers occurs in Algeria, Tunis, Syria and Palestine where it is accompanied by the phrase, "Five in your eye," or "Five on your eye," or "Five on you," or "Five in the face of your enemies." Westermarck notes that the ancient Romans seem to have used a similar gesture, accompanied with the words, *"Ecce tibi dono quinque."* [38]

The Kabyles believe that, in spite of the power of charms, there are certain conditions which render them inefficacious. Adultery committed while it is worn renders the amulet powerless to the wearer. Acts which are not condoned by Kabyle society make them useless. Perhaps it is this which keeps the faith of the people from being shaken when their amulets fail to bring the desired results. No matter how many times they fail, the people continue to believe as firmly as ever in their power. Probably just as long as their belief in *djnoun* is so real, they will seek deliverance through amulets.

The use of charms is of course not peculiar to the Kabyles. It is "almost universal among savage and semi-civilized peoples, and among the less educated classes in civilized countries. Wherever belief in the evil eye is strong, there is always a corresponding development of protective amulets." [39]

In North Africa the Arabic word *hirz* is used by both Arabs and Kabyles for amulet. The Kabyles employ also *h'joub,* (from the Arabic *hÿab*). Carra De Vaux says that the prayers, signs and figures on the Moslem amulets are of very different origin and that their investigation offers great difficulties.[40] The fact that they employ Koranic verses in their charms does not necessarily indicate that they had no amulets until they became Moslem. Quotations from the Koran would quite naturally be

[37] MacCulloch, J. A., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. VI, p. 495.

[38] Westermarck, op. cit., p. 49.

[39] Freire-Marreco, B., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. III, p. 393a.

[40] De Vaux, C. B., *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. 2, p. 243.

used in them by the Kabyles when they became Moslem since sacred writings in such charms are always considered efficacious.

"From the earliest ages the Oriental races have had a firm belief in the prevalence of occult evil influences, and a superstitious trust in amulets and similar preservatives against them." [41] In writing of Jewish amulets, the following has been said which may explain why the Kabyles in the early days of Islam in Kabylia were interested in using Koranic verses in their charms: "Every nation in turn seems to have held that the magical arts of other nations were superior to its own." [42] Again, it must have been quite natural for the Kabyles to use Koranic verses for this purpose as soon as they became Moslem for they were taught as Moslems to believe in the sacredness of the Koran. Naturally verses from such a book were thought to have peculiar power and would therefore be most valuable in amulets. Carra De Vaux notes that the Arabic story-tellers considered the Berbers as having been highly skilled in the art of talismans.[43]

Other forms of magic are also practiced by the Kabyles. Young girls who are not married often tie strips of cloth torn from their dresses to a branch of an olive tree which is thought to have sacred power. When tying this on, a prayer is made to the spirit in the tree, "If you grant my wish to marry I will bring you something," meaning couscous, galette or some other food. The skull of a donkey is sometimes used in place of rags. This same thing is done sometimes in the case of illness. In traveling through Kabylia one will often find olive trees to which such strips have been tied.

A girl wishing a husband may bathe, then use some of the water in which she washed to make couscous. This is taken to the mosque and left for it is believed that whoever eats it will have a desire to marry the girl. Sorcerers are also called in when a girl is not married since she is thought to have an evil spirit. She is given a cold bath and when it is finished she throws the water on the path where the men pass to market. A man who is touched by the water will want to marry the girl. When a girl becomes engaged she carries in her clothing a knife, a mirror, and some incense. The knife is to protect her from any evil spirits that might trouble the marriage, the mirror is to give her

[41] *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 11th Edition, Vol. I, p. 899a.
[42] *The Jewish Encyclopaedia,* Vol. I, p. 547a.
[43] De Vaux, C. B., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. III, p. 457a.

light upon her pathway, and the incense is to make her words always agreeable to her husband. On the day of her marriage the bride wears a needle in her head-handkerchief to ward off the evil spirits. Among the Kabyle men and boys are found those who wear one earring. This is worn as an amulet to ward off certain diseases or dangers.

There are trees, caves, stones, springs, which contain *baraka* (blessing) and to which the people go. At a certain time each year a large group of women and girls from a village in Kabylia make a pilgrimage some distance to a spring in which they bathe because they believe the water contains *baraka*. It is supposed to be effective in the cure of rheumatism and other diseases. Such places are not always associated with saints but must be regarded rather as centers of nature worship which, according to Westermarck, have survived from the days of paganism.[44] W. Robertson Smith says that sacred waters were used as healing sources by the Syrians and states further that it appears from Ephraem Syrus that the practice of bathing in fountains was one of the customs to which the Syrians of his time were much addicted.[45] Smith also notes that tree worship, where the tree is in all respects treated as a god, is attested for Arabia in the case of the sacred date-palm, but adds that this is not authoritative. He further states that tree worship among the Syrians must have had a large place for this is one of the superstitions which Christianity itself was powerless to eradicate. And further, that according to the testimony of Philo Byblius, in ancient times the Phoenicians and Canaanites esteemed as gods and honored with libations and sacrifices the plants of the earth.[46]

In discussing the slaughtering of the sheep for *L'aïd el-Kebir*, mention has been made of the use of the blood as a curative measure and also as a means of assuring plenty and blessing. A purification ceremony is also performed by the use of blood. In some parts of Kabylia water is very scarce and when it is found, it is a great tragedy if for some reason the water is impure. To insure good water, when a well is being dug, an ox is brought near to the well. Just as water is found, the ox is sacrificed. To be efficacious, the first blood flowing from the dead animal must fall into the water. A certain village dug for

[44] Westermarck, E., op. cit., p. 97.
[45] Smith, W. R., *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, pp. 183-184.
[46] Smith, W. R., op. cit., pp. 185-186.

water which was badly needed because the village was practically without water. When water was reached, an ox was sacrificed. Nevertheless the water was found to be unfit to drink. The Kabyles settled the matter by saying that when the ox was killed the first blood was spilled on the ground and did not mingle with the water in the well. This explained to their satisfaction why the sacrifice had not been successful.

In speaking of sacrifice among the Arabs, Weir calls attention to the fact that there was "the instinctive belief of the Semitic peoples in the sacredness of blood." [47] The use of the word "instinctive" here is questionable, but the fact that many peoples in many parts of the world have believed in the efficacy of blood and considered it sacred is certainly true. The shedding of the blood of an animal in sacrifice was a religious act. The Kabyles may have taken their purifying rite through blood sacrifice from a Semitic source, or they may have observed it even before the Arabs came to North Africa. The Kabyles have not taken into their vocabulary any one of the six Arabic words used to express the meaning of "sacrifice," using a word of their own which is *zelou*. The Kabyles, then, must have had a term for "sacrifice" before the Arabs came among them. In this case it might be well to look further for an influence which might have brought the idea of blood purification to the Kabyles.

The festival held on the seventh day after the birth of a son has an ancient and religious character. The blood of the sheep that is killed is spilled in honor of the child. Several drops are made to fall upon the face of the baby. This is believed efficacious in scattering the evil influences and assuring the child a prosperous future.[48] This practice is forbidden by Moslem law, and according to Sidi Khelil, it is an imitation of the ancient Arabs who in pre-Islamic times smeared the head of the child with blood from an animal slaughtered.[49] Blood among the primitives is more or less identified with the soul; the fact that it sustains life, the facility with which it disappears, its heat, its bright color, all this greatly excites the imagination.[50]

The symbol of the cross is found in use in some interesting ways among the Kabyle people. When a girl is born, the mid-

[47] Weir, T. H., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. XI, p. 29b.
[48] Hanoteau, op. cit., Tome II, p. 210.
[49] Ibid, p. 211—Note.
[50] Doutté, E., *Magic & Religion Dans L'Afrique du Nord*, p. 85.

wife with the back of a knife makes the image of a cross on the labia of the child. This practice replaces for the girls the operation of circumcision which is prescribed for the boys. Hanoteau wonders if it may not be concluded that in pre-Islamic times the Berbers practiced excision.[51] This is a custom of primitive Africa today and is described by Rattray.[52] The fact that the imaginary cutting is in the form of a cross does not seem to hold any special significance and it would be unwise to try to read any into it.

At the burial of the dead it is the custom, just before the grave is covered, to place over the body prickly-pear cactus leaves in the form of a cross. The only explanation given for this was that of a Kabyle who had been converted to Christianity under the Roman Catholics in Kabylia. He said that most of the Kabyle people now would only be able to explain this custom by saying, "It was always done that way." But he claimed that it can be traced back to the time when the Kabyles were Christian and the Arabs invaded the country. Forced to become Moslems they tried to continue many Christian practices in secret and this one of hiding the symbol of their religion inside the grave when they buried their dead had grown from their fear of placing it on top of the grave where it would be seen. This explanation may or may not be valid. In the first place, the Kabyle informant had probably had this view interpreted to him by the Catholics under whom he had been instructed. In the second place, there is a real question as to how deeply Christianity had penetrated into Kabylia before the Arab invasion. It would seem from the little evidence that we have that it was not very deep. We know that the Romans did not succeed in establishing themselves in the Djurdjura mountains, home of the Kabyle people, but that this part of the country remained practically independent under the rule of native chiefs.[53] Probably a more reasonable explanation would be that the barbary fig branches serve to keep away flesh-eating animals.

Another custom connected with a symbol like a cross is found among the women. When a Kabyle mother prepares her baby for sleep, after wrapping the child in swaddling clothes, she

[51] Hanoteau, A. et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 211.

[52] Rattray, Capt. R. S., *The Tribes of The Ashanti Hinterland*, Vol. I, p. 167.

[53] Dames, M. L., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, p. 599b.

places it upon her lap and makes the sign of the cross over the breast of the infant by crossing her hands upon him. When asked the reason for this, the mother will say that it is to ward off evil spirits while the baby sleeps.

The Kabyle women often have a cross tattooed upon the forehead. These crosses are made by two straight marks at right angles. The remark is often heard among Europeans that this is a remnant of their Christianity. But is it? Tattooing is very ancient. In Leviticus 19:28 we find this law against it given to the Jews: "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor any marks upon you." The Jews must either have been practicing tattooing themselves or have seen it used by the pagans among whom they lived. Herodotus, in speaking of the Thracian women, says of them: "To be marked with punctures is accounted a sign of noble birth; to be without punctures, ignoble." [54] Darwin in speaking of the universality of tattooing says: "Not one great country can be named, from the polar regions in the north to New Zealand in the south in which the aborigines do not tattoo themselves." [55] The dominant designs in Algeria are a cross and a figure resembling a fly, which is thought to be a degenerate form of the swastika—a device widely distributed in Africa and elsewhere, and of great antiquity, as is shown by its appearance on a leaden figure in the second city of Troy (about 2500-2000 B. C.) and by its prevalence in ancient Crete.[56] This would seem to indicate that tattooing, very universal and very ancient, must have been known to the Kabyles a long time before the Christian era. It would also tend to show that the cross as a tattoo mark must have been known to the people of Northern Africa before the coming of Christianity. No doubt in the beginning there may have been some religious or superstitious association with the use of the cross in tattooing.

> The suggestion that the crosses tattooed by Kabyle women on their faces are a reminiscence of past Christianity, is merely puerile. In the first place though the cross is fairly common amongst the Chawïs (neighbors of the Kabyles) it is by no means the most ordinary tattoo mark

[54] Herodotus (Translated by A. O. Godley) V: 6.

[55] Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, p. 574.

[56] MacCulloch, J. A., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 210.

> amongst the Kabyles; and in the second place, it is (or ought to be) matter of common knowledge that the cross is neither originally nor exclusively a Christian emblem. As a matter of fact it is one of the decorations on the robe of a Libyan portrayed on the Egyptian monuments.[57]

These small crosses made by two lines of equal length intersecting at right angles are used in some instances as a charm against the evil eye. Sometimes the cross is tattooed on the tip of the nose because as the most projecting part of the body it seems especially suitable for such a charm. Westermarck relates how a Berber friend of his with a nose so decorated told him that the tattooing had been done in his infancy because his two elder brothers had died shortly after birth.[58] The cross is also often found tattooed on the forefinger of the right hand. Among many peoples crosses are regarded as dispellers of evil influences of some kind or another.[59] If this is true, then it would be difficult to say that the cross used by the Kabyles is a survival of Christianity. It may easily, in fact is more likely to be, a survival of pre-Christian times. Crawley says that it is erroneous to attribute tattooing, scarification and boring to the desire for ornament as MacCulloch does.

> "At a very early stage men no doubt felt a desire for personal decoration and learnt to use pigment for this purpose; and it is possible that tatu was resorted to as a means of giving permanent character to the designs thus made to beautify the body at a stage prior to the use of clothes." [60]

Crawley argues the contrary, namely, that it is considered a means for preserving and insulating from danger all the channels of sense.[61] It is impossible to say whether tattooing among the Kabyles in the beginning had a religious significance or whether it was first used to beautify. From the evidence given, it appears to have come down from antiquity bringing with it the design of the cross, which, contrary to the belief of many

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[57] Randall-MacIver, D., and Wilkin, A., *Libyan Notes,* by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, p. 8.

[58] Westermarck, E., op. cit., p. 32.

[59] Ibid, p. 33.

[60] MacCulloch, J. A., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. XIII, p. 208.

[61] Crawley, E., *The Mystic Rose,* p. 168.

Europeans, is not a survival of Christianity. The whole subject of the cross is too large a one to be treated within the scope of this book. There is a tremendous literature on the subject dealing with non-Christian and Christian crosses, their shapes, uses, and meanings. Allusions will be made here to such as seem pertinent to the subject being treated.

The non-Christian cross "potence" known in Egypt as the "key of life" became a propitiatory and magical sign, spreading to the Phoenicians and then to the whole Semitic world, its presence being noted along the shores of North Africa.[62]

Christians in the early centuries considered the cross as having a great magical value. They used it in exorcism, believing it to be efficacious in the warding off of unclean spirits.[63] Whether the cross made over the corpse in the grave has come down from some pagan belief regarding it, or whether it is a remnant, as the Kabyle Christian has said, of the effort to keep secret Christianity alive, there is not at present enough evidence to say. If it were only a way to hide true religious identity it seems doubtful that it would have continued after the country became Islamized.

The Kabyles seem to have a religion that is a mixture of Islam and survivals of pre-Islamic days. Bel says: "Most of the Berbers in the religious realm simply added something from Islam, little or much, to the ancient beliefs and the magico-religious practices of their early ancestors.[64]

One of the strongest religious influences in Kabylia is that of the *marabouts*. The word marabout is the French form of the Arabic *al-Murabitun*, meaning warrior monks, living in a *ribât*. These *ribât*[65] were the forts erected on the frontier of Moslem territory to keep the neighboring nations in check. They became the habitations of the Moslem devotees who would pass some months in one of these establishments in order to acquire the merit of participating in a holy war. Later the *ribât* lost nearly everywhere their military character and became monasteries, where pious men could give themselves to prayer and study.

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[62] D'Alviella, G., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, p. 326.

[63] D'Alviella, G., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, p. 326.

[64] Bel, op. cit., p. 61.

[65] *Ribât* signifies a "thing which one ties or binds" and came to be used for "a public building for the accommodation of travellers and their beasts. Lane, E. W., *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Book 1, Part 3, p. 1014.

These forts were thus called because it was believed that they bound the arms of the enemy. One Arab historian reports that in his time there was an uninterrupted line of *ribât* on the Moslem frontier from the Atlantic Ocean to China.[66]

> Of the various explanations that have been given of this word from the root rabatn: "to bend, attach," the most reasonable is that which refers to the *Kur'an* viii. 62: "Prepare against them (the enemies of Allah) all that ye possess of strength and places for horses . . ." The ribât is originally the place where the mounts are assembled and hobbled to keep in readiness for an expedition.[67]

Moslem devotees not attached to any congregation and without official ties are known as *marabouts*.

The word marabout (mrâbet) has come now to mean a religious person who is a descendant of a saint to whom legend has attributed the power to work miracles and to give *baraka* (blessing).[68] There are those who claim to be marabouts as descendants of the Prophet. These would probably be Arab. It must be remembered that some who lay claim to sainthood through the Prophet have no legitimate right to this claim. Nevertheless they have been successful in their deceptions. Let us hasten to add that in many cases they probably had no intention of deceiving but have been sincere in their belief that their family could claim this derivation. In speaking of the Arab element in Kabylia, Hanoteau says that it was especially through the marabouts that the Arabs took root in Kabylia. These Arabs probably established themselves as missionaries at the time of the Arab invasion.[69] However, in a study of a number of genealogies of marabout families made by Hanoteau and Letourneux, it was found that one was descended from an Arab dervish, another from a Turk, two from Negro slaves, and several from full-blooded Kabyles.[70]

A marabout has the same meaning for the Moslem in North Africa as the Arab term *wali* which means "saint." A Moslem in Algeria if asked the meaning of the term marabout will probably say that it is "one who is tied to God." The worship of

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[66] Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbêrs*, Vol. I, p. 83, Note 2.
[67] Rinn, L., *Marabouts et Khouan*, Adolphe Jordan, Publisher, p. 14.
[68] Soualah, Mohammed, *L'Islam et l'Evolution de la Culture Arabe*, p. 133.
[69] Hanoteau, op. cit., Tome I, p. 373.
[70] Randall-MacIver, D., and Wilkin, A., op. cit., p. 21.

saints is not Koranic. Although it is not expressly prohibited by the Koran it is contrary to its spirit, Mohammed had forbidden the worship of standing stones, tombs and every kind of superstition. However, Islam was forced to yield on this point to the pressure of popular sentiment. In North Africa the worship of saints and marabouts is highly developed.[71] Saint worship is found wherever Islam is found but, as in North Africa, it is more highly developed in some parts of the Islamic world than in others.

Yver observes that because of their ignorance the Kabyles have been defenceless against the incitements of the marabouts who hold a special position in Kabyle society. These leaders enjoy special privileges, being exempt from taxation, from the duties of entertainment, and from bearing arms.[72] There are some villages which are exclusively occupied by marabouts, and many other villages scattered throughout Kabylia each having one or more.

Rinn thinks that fanaticism is rare among the marabouts because they are not affiliated with any religious order.[73] On the other hand, Montet says, "Religious fanaticism has been, historically speaking, and still is, one of the principal features of the life of the marabouts.[74] In the early days of French occupation it was the marabouts who often incited the people to revolt. Montet, it seems, is nearer to the truth on this point than Rinn.

A marabout inherits his prestige as a religious leader from an ancestor who has either been a *chérif* (from the Arabic شريف translated: descendant of the Prophet by his daughter Fatima) or an *ouali* (from the Arabic ولي meaning friend of God, saint or patron). The status of *marabout* cannot be attained during lifetime no matter how virtuous or pious one may be. It is only obtained by birth.[75] Though the first member of a marabout line may have been very influential, educated, and a good Moslem, succeeding generations may bring the marabout to a state of ignorance and poverty comparable to most of his fellow Kabyles. A marabout village from the point of view of ignorance,

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[71] De Vaux, C. B., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 4, Pt. 2, pp. 1109-1111.
[72] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, p. 599.
[73] Rinn, L., op. cit., p. 18.
[74] Montet, E., *Saint Worship in North Africa, Moslem World*, Vol. 3, 1913, p. 243.
[75] Rinn, op. cit., p. 15.

poverty, and filth, is like any other village in Kabylia. These people are often distinguished from other villagers by the carrying of a rosary in the hand. The rosary is used in Moslem circles though it is not employed to any great extent in Kabylia outside marabout groups. The word rosary used in Kabyle is the Arabic word سبحة (subhah.) This rosary consists of one hundred beads and is used by them in counting the ninety-nine names of God, the final bead being for the essential name of God—Allah.

The history of the rosary is an interesting one. It seems to have originated from the use of a string of knots as an aid to memory. The earliest reference in literature to a rosary comes from India, the Brahman form being considered the oldest. It is thought that the Buddhist rosary is probably of Brahman origin. The date when the rosary was introduced among the Moslems is uncertain. It has often been assumed that the Moslems took it over from the Buddhists.[76] From the Traditions it is learned that Mohammed, upon finding a woman counting her eulogies by means of kernels, told her it was easier and more profitable to count the "Glory of God." Golgziher (*Vorlesungen*, p. 165) thinks it certain that the rosary came from India to Western Asia. Still he points to Traditions mentioning the use of small stones, date-kernels, etc., for counting eulogies.[77] 'Abdu 'l Haqq, the commentator on the *Mishkatu l' Masabih* says that in the early days of Islam the Moslems counted God's praises on small pebbles, or on the fingers.[78] Most of the Kabyles seem to have no interest in the use of the Moslem rosary, leaving this to the marabouts. Once again we find the Kabyles rejecting what they do not want in Islam.

Marabout women are always addressed as "La" before the surname. This is an abbreviation of "Lalla" which means "madame." It is used as a term of respect. No matter how poor or in what squalor a marabout lives, he is held in respect by the Kabyles. The men are given the title "Sidi" meaning "Mr." The Kabyles go to these religious men to get amulets made or to seek advice. They always take with them gifts, either in money or in kind. Some of these venerated people succeed in

[76] Blackman, W. S., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. X, pp. 847-853.

[77] Wensinck, A. J., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 4, Pt. 1, p. 492.

[78] Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 546.

getting large quantities of food even from the very poor Kabyles. The local marabouts do not receive gifts outside their own community. They will always be respected in other villages but do not receive gifts there.

The marabout usually lives in a holy place, one often made holy because it is the burial place of his ancestors. It has not always been understood or recognized by Europeans coming into Kabylia how sacred these burial places are to the Kabyle. At a certain place where a Christian Mission was built, the missionary in charge experienced great difficulty at one time during the digging of the foundation. When a certain point had been reached in the excavation work, the Kabyles employed refused to proceed further in one direction, saying that they were near to the burial place of a marabout and they dared not disturb such a sacred spot. The missionary insisted that the work be continued, while the workmen continued to protest. When the Kabyles had gone home on the day they had so steadfastly refused to continue in one direction, the missionary and his European helpers looked for the remains of the marabout. They were found, exhumed and buried elsewhere. When the workmen returned they continued the work since they did not need to dig in the place which to them was sacred. Even though they did not themselves find the remains, and never knew that they had been found, still the place continued to be sacred to them. Even today the resting place of that marabout is thought to be under the kitchen of the Mission house and the Kabyle woman working in the kitchen pays due respect to the sacred spot. It would seem that a better attitude toward the cause of Christian Missions would have resulted had the builders of that house willingly listened to the protests of the Kabyles, showing their sympathy by respecting local sacred places. The position of the house could have been changed for there was plenty of room. True, it would have been somewhat inconvenient but the respect and sympathy gained from the Moslems would have outweighed the inconvenience.

Kabyles hold the marabouts in such great veneration as to make this really a saint cult. They visit their tombs to pray and to ask special favors. Wherever one is buried, the place is revered as holy, for they believe such tombs to have *baraka* for them. A construction known as *qobba* (dome) is built over the grave of marabouts. Sometimes they have four walls with a domed roof, sometimes they are roofless. These small structures

are often whitewashed and can be seen for long distances in the mountains, standing out against the green of the mountains and the deep blue of the Algerian sky. But upon coming close to these shrines one is often very much disappointed. The view from a distance has been so beautiful, and emphasizes the contrast found in a close-up view of a filthy place where pilgrims have come to burn candles, to pray, to receive *baraka*. Sometimes these burial places are only marked by a ring of stones or a cairn. But the Kabyles always know where they are to be found.

What is the reason for this saint worship? Montet says:

> It must be sought in the element of superstition borrowed from the primitive paganism of the Berber peoples. . . . Procope, especially, tells of the antropolatry of the Berbers and of their profound veneration for their sorcerers and prophetesses who foretold the future, make us inclined to believe that saint worship in the West is essentially pagan in origin.[79]

Bel sees in saint worship the successor of the belief in tribal powers and special kinds of divinities worshiped by the Berbers in prehistoric times.[80] Westermarck calls attention to the fact that belief in saints is not Koranic, that this cult grew up on the soil of the earlier paganism. He further points out that when it spread to Africa it found fresh nourishment in the native ideas of the Berbers.[81]

Shrines of marabouts are not the only means of obtaining *baraka*. It may also be had by contact with objects which these people possess or other objects that are believed to have *baraka*. Merely touching these may transfer the blessing to the person seeking it.

> The relics of saints, the clothes which they wore in their lifetime, and, of course, holy men who are still alive and everything connected with them are particularly powerful. This also explains the custom occasionally found of the head of a dervish order spitting into the mouth of newly initiated members.[82]

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[79] Montet, E., Saint Worship in North Africa, *Moslem World*, Vol. 3, 1913, pp. 243-245.

[80] Bel, A., op. cit., Tome I, p. 72.

[81] Westermarck, op. cit., p. 95.

[82] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 654.

The blessing of the marabout has developed very extensively among the Berbers in North Africa. When a great marabout approaches, they hasten to kiss the hem of his burnous, to kiss his stirrup if he is riding a horse, or to embrace even the trace of his foot if he is walking. Those who are too far from him to hope to kiss his hand, touch him with their canes, or even throw a stone at him which they have carefully marked and which they find afterwards and piously embrace.[83]

Besides being held in veneration by the Kabyles, some of the marabouts do have specific religious duties to perform. The imam, who is responsible for the worship services in the mosque, is a marabout. He acts as *mu'adhdhin* (gives the calls to prayer), recites the obligatory prayers each day and presides at all religious ceremonies. He gives oral religious instruction to Kabyle boys in the village. Owing to indifference, in many villages only a few boys receive such instruction. If the village contains sufficient marabout children a school is held for them. These schools are very elementary, giving some instruction in reading and writing (in Arabic) and in memorizing portions of the Koran. In villages where there are no marabouts, the *djemâa* names the imam. In those having a number of marabout families, the imam is often named by the marabouts themselves who choose one from among themselves or one from another locality. In some places the functions of imam have become hereditary. This occasionally means that a man who can neither read nor write inherits these duties. He may have himself replaced by another marabout who is more educated and to whom he gives up part of the benefits of his office, but he always retains for himself the title of imam which he transmits to his heirs.[84] Besides his religious duties the imam also acts as secretary of the *djemâa*. The word imam comes from an Arabic root meaning "to preside, to lead."

The imam is paid a salary for which each villager is usually assessed a certain amount. If the imam is from another village he is furnished a lodging. He also has his supply of wood brought to him and often receives a third of the *fet'era* (the religious tax). In addition he receives gifts of figs, barley, oil, and other things such as the people can give from their own provisions.

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[83] Doutté, E., op. cit., p. 440.

[84] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 37.

There is an important religious brotherhood among the Moslems in Kabylia which has had and still has considerable influence. It is known as the *Rahmaniya* order, having been named for its founder Muhammed ben 'Abd-al-Rahman-al-Gushtuli-al-Djurdjuri al-Azhari Abu Kabrain who died in 1208 A. H. (1739-1794 A. D.). 'Abd-al-Rahman was from the Aït Sma'il tribe of the confederation of Gashtula located in the Djurdjura mountains of Kabylia. After study at home and in Algiers, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1152 A. H. (1739-1740 A. D.), studying in the University of al-Azhar at Cairo on his return. There he became a member of the Khalwati order and was sent to India and the Sudan to seek adherents for it. Thirty years later he returned to Algeria, going to his own native village in Kabylia to preach, founding a *sawiya*[85] (monastery) there. In his "Seven Visions of the Prophet of Mohammed," he made the following important claims for himself and his system: immunity from hell-fire was to be secured by affiliation to his order; love for himself or it; a visit to himself; stopping before his tomb; hearing recited his *dhikr* ("remembrance" as a religious technical term, the glorifying of Allah with certain fixed phrases, repeated in ritual order").[86] The marabouts were jealous of his success, so he moved to Hamma near Algiers where his activities also provoked the religious leaders. Later he returned to his native village where he died. His body is said to have been stolen by some of his followers and buried with great pomp at Hamma where a *qobba* and a mosque were erected. But his own village people maintain that his body never left its original grave. This has given rise to the belief that his body was miraculously duplicated, and the title *Abu Kabrain*, "owner of two graves" was given him.[87]

The popularity of 'Abd-al-Rahman was so great that he became the head of a veritable national religious order in Kabylia around which were grouped all the independent populations of the Djurdjura.[88] His death was a signal for manifestations which drew his numerous disciples of the plains into the mountains and which disturbed the Turks who were sorry they had not gotten rid of this dangerous personage.[89]

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[85] Variant spelling *zaouïa*.
[86] Macdonald, D. B., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, p. 958.
[87] Margoliouth, D. S., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 3, Pt. 2, p. 1104.
[88] Rinn, L., op. cit., p. 453.
[89] Ibid, p. 455.

In the jealousy of the marabouts, in the strength of this brotherhood, in the interest of the Kabyles in this movement, is seen again their willingness to flock to the party that is strong, and that in its strength seems to be able to guarantee to them their precious independence.

Following the death of the founder, the *khouan* (brethren) had a history that was mixed with disorder, jealousy, divisions, political and military activities. In 1857 El-Hadj-Amar, leader of the Rahmaniyas, organized the Aït Sma'il to resist the French occupation. This attempt was defeated and Kabylia submitted to Marshal Randon, French officer. Again in 1871 under the leadership of Si Mohammed-Amzian-ben-el-Haddad of Seddouk, the Kabyles of the Rahmaniya Khouan took an important part in the insurrection. The rival branches of this brotherhood united in the insurrection attempt.[90]

There is much criticism by the Kabyles themselves of the *khouan* and also of the marabouts. Their leaders often incite the ignorant to political activities which are not for the good of Kabylia. Rinn says that he often heard intelligent Kabyles tell of the treachery, the lies, the falsifying, the evil influences, the greediness, and the sham doctrines of the *khouan*. Yet, he continues, he has seen the same Kabyles in the presence of the *muqaddem* (leader of a *khouan*), ever respectful of a religious character, witnessing publicly to him their great regard for him, and even though not affiliated with the order, to give the *muqaddem* their homage and ask for his benediction the same as if they were devoted members of the *khouan*.[91] In spite of the respect paid to the marabouts and to the leaders of the *khouan*, many of the Kabyles would probably agree that the Arab proverb told to Rinn expresses their attitude also, about these religious leaders: *"Méfie-toi de la femma par devant, de la mule par derrière, et du marabout par tous les bouts."* [92]

There has been a strenthening, or rather a revival of interest in the *khouan* in recent years. With the rise of the nationalistic movement in Algeria have come efforts among the brotherhoods to "purify" Islam and to strengthen them. Just as the Rahmaniya took the lead in the insurrections of 1857 and 1871, so in the recent nationalistic movement these brotherhoods have taken

[90] Rinn, L., op. cit., p. 458-459.
[91] Rinn, L., op. cit., p. 105.
[92] Idem, Note 2.

a prominent part. They went into many of the villages trying to organize Koranic schools and even encouraging the girls as well as the boys to attend. Such a school was begun in one village in Little Kabylia. The parents were assessed a modest sum to defray the expenses of the school. Many of them were too poor to pay even a small fee, others were too indifferent. Most of the girls who had been attending a Mission school were sent to this Koranic one. But after a few days they returned to the Mission school saying that the Koranic school offered them no singing, no games, no reading and no writing. They did not like it and would not attend. Consequently, in a very short time the school was discontinued.

Another manifestation of the *khouan* and the effort to purify and revive Islam was seen when some of the villages passed laws in their *djemâa* that no work was to be done in the village on Friday before twelve noon. Friday is the Moslem day of congregational worship. A fine was levied by the *djemâa* on any one who disobeyed. This was strongly favored by a small group in the village who were either members of the *khouan* or in sympathy with the brotherhood. But it was just as vehemently denounced by the rest of the village. After a short time it was found it could not be enforced, and so was discontinued.

Rouquette makes the observation that in time of peace, the *khouan* do not exercise much authority but as soon as it is necessary to engender the hate of the Moslem against the Christian, the *khouan* enters into its real role.[93] It would seem that the term "Christian" has been rather inadvisedly used by Rouquette in this connection. He is thinking especially of the uprisings of the Kabyles against the French government. There is a tendency to regard all Europeans as Christian, the Kabyles calling all of them "Roumi" by which they mean Christian. When the Arabs invaded North Africa they did not know the Francs (Latins). They only knew the *Roum* (Greeks) with whom they had contended in Syria and who, they thought, dominated all the other Christian peoples. They supposed that Heraclius was king of all Christendom. Under this impression, they gave the name *Roum* to all the people who professed Christianity and the name is still used today among the Kabyles.[94] Even lately the *khouan* have been playing the role of which

[93] Rouquette, L'abbé, *Les Sociétés Secrets Chez Les Musulmans*, p. 404.
[94] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 208.

Rouquette speaks. A short time before the present war broke out in Europe, a group of the *khouan* sent a request to the Governor General of Algeria asking that all Christian missionaries be withdrawn from the country and that the people be protected from any propaganda which would turn them from Islam.

The place of worship for the Moslem is the mosque. The contrast between the mosques, beautifully built and well kept by the Moslems in the cities of North Africa, with those in the Kabyle villages is most striking. The Kabyle mosques are built from the same materials as the Kabyle huts, mud and stone, and are whitewashed from time to time. These buildings are for the most part void of furnishings.

One does not find in Kabylia the respect and fear and reverence for the mosque which is found elsewhere among Moslems. It is used as a place for travellers to spend the night as among the Arabs. Many of the men take their siesta in the mosque and meet outside to while away the time. The children play in it, Koranic school is conducted there, and it is used as a place of prayer. The mosque seems to stand as a silent reminder of the poverty, filth and squalor that is found in so many parts of the Kabyle village. Pedersen says that although the mosque became sacred, it could not cast off its old character as a place of public assembly and in consequence the mosque was visited for many other purposes than those of divine worship.[95]

The mosques in Kabylia which are so miserably built do not have a minaret. The *mu'adhdhin* gives his call from a small porch which is sometimes constructed across the upper front of the mosque. Lacking such a porch the call is given from some elevated place where it can be heard all over the village. The night call during Ramadan rings out with resonance across the mountains in the stillness of the night in Kabylia. It is often possible to hear this call simultaneously from several villages.

Frequently there is in the village other property belonging to the mosque. This may be adjoining the mosque or in other parts of the village. This property has been received in gift from the pious or as an inheritance left to the mosque. There is a Moslem Tradition which says, "For him who builds a mosque, God will build a home in Paradise"; some add, "if he

[95] Pederson, J., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 3, Pt. 1, p. 324b.

desires to see the face of God." [96] The mosque and all the property belonging to it is under the supervision of the *djemâa* but it is not under the care of the amin.

The *djemâa* names a special agent to care for the accounts and property of the mosque. He is called an *oukil* (from the Arabic *wakil,* "one charged with the responsibility of accounts"). He is chosen from among the Kabyles, may or may not be a marabout, but is always one of the rich and influential members of the village. He receives the revenues of the mosque and makes the expenditures, at the order of the *djemâa.* If the amount of revenue is large it may be lent at interest. If the *djemâa* makes no arrangement for this and the money remains in the possession of the *oukil,* then he is responsible personally for the risk he takes if he lends any money. It is not his duty to occupy himself with the details of the mosque for he is simply the receiver and dispenser of its funds. He receives no salary.[97] Though there is no remuneration for this office, a clever *oukil* who is able to lend some of the funds on his own responsibility is able to realize a neat sum for himself.

The majority of the men in Kabylia do not frequent the mosques at the regular times of Moslem prayer for there are very few who observe these regularly. Once in a while a Kabyle man, usually a marabout, may be seen, at the hour of prayer, saying his prayer at some spot in the village where he happens to be. Very few of the women know the prayers. Though it is not Orthodox Islam, the women are taught that they may not pray until after menstruation ceases, as they are considered unclean as long as this functions. Consequently prayers are said only by the old women in Kabylia, the exception to this usually being the marabout women. From time to time an old woman may be seen repeating her Moslem prayers. The great mass of Kabyles do not know Arabic and have never learned the Arabic prayers. When they do know and repeat them, they usually do not know the meaning of them. One Kabyle had in his possession a prayer which had just been written out for him in Arabic words. It was in Roman script instead of the Arabic characters. The Kabyle could pronounce the words but had no conception of their meaning.

Before the Arabs came to North Africa bringing Islam, what

[96] Pedersen, J., *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. 3, Pt. 1, p. 324b.
[97] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 35-36.

was the religion of the Kabyles? At the time of the invasion of the Arabs, a part of the Berber tribes are said to have professed Judaism, notably those of the Aurés, while others have remained pagan without ever having accepted Christianity. Probably the Kabyles of the Djurdjuras, who never were subjected to Roman influences to any great extent, should be classed in one of these categories.[98]

Ibn Khaldoun has the following to say of the Berbers:

> "The religion of this people like that of all the foreign nations of the Orient and Occident, was paganism. It happened, however, that from time to time, the Berbers professed the religion of their conquerors, for several nations had held them in subjection. During the domination of the Romans the Berbers resigned themselves to profess the Christian religion. A part of the Berbers professed Judaism, the religion which they had received from their powerful neighbors, the Israelites of Syria. Before the introduction of Islam the Berbers of Ifrikia and of the Maghreb lived under the domination of the Francs and the Greeks. The Sanhadja (Touaregs) were a pagan people who never adopted Christianitv.[99]

Again he says, that at the time of the Arab invasion of North Africa, there were Berbers "who professed the Jewish religion, others who were Christian and others who were pagan, worshippers of the sun, moon, and idols." [100]

On the other hand, Rouquette says that the Kabyles who withdrew into the mountains about 372 A. D., when they later finally submitted to the Moslems, preserved for a long time their customs and traditions. He holds there were still Christians among them in the eleventh century.[101]

Rinn says that the Berbers who at heart remained more or less attached to Donatism, upon the invasion of the Arabs, were seduced by the simplicity of the Islamic requirements and adopted *without repugnance* Islam since it did not in any way shock their Christian unitheism or their doctrines of equal rights.[102]

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[98] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 382.

[99] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 206-212.

[100] Ibid, p. 177.

[101] Rouquette, op. cit., pp. 378-379.

[102] Rinn, L., op. cit., p. 23.

Percy Smith, long a missionary in Algeria wrote thus:

> The Berbers as a whole were little touched by Phoenician or Roman civilization. How far Christianity reached them is hard to say. Those brought under its influence would be those already under Roman civilization, for the North African Church was Latin in language. No translation of the Scriptures or any religious literature was made in any Berber dialect until the establishment of modern Missions in North Africa.[103]

Soualah in discussing the religion of the Berbers says that Judaism made progress in a number of tribes, that Christianity developed in the cities, but that the rural districts knew the apostasies, the schisms, such as Donatism, and the heresies to which came to be added the Arianism of the Vandals of Genseric.[104]

Cardinal Lavigerie quotes concerning Christianity among the Kabyles from what General Daumas has said in his book *Moeurs et Coutumes de l'Algerie* (4 édit., p. 255) as follows:

> If one examines thoroughly the mysteries of Kabyle society, the deeper one penetrates under the Moslem surface into this ancient race, the more one finds the strength of Christianity. One recognizes that the Kabyle people, in part autochthonous, in part first descendants, formerly all Christian, are not completely changed by the new religion. Under the blows of the scimitar they accepted the Koran but did not adopt it, they are clothed in the dogmas as well as the burnous; but they keep underneath their former social structure, so that it is not alone in the tattooings of the figure that they display before us unknowingly the symbol of the Cross.[105]

Cardinal Lavigerie claims that of all the Algerian Generals, Daumas knew the Kabyles best.[106]

Cardinal Lavigerie says that he has had it confirmed to him on more than one occasion in Kabylia that among them are

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[103] Smith, P., The Unfinished Task of Raymund Lull, *The Moslem World*, Vol. 5, 1915, p. 125.

[104] Soualah, Mohammed, op. cit., p. 19-20.

[105] Cardinal Lavigèrie, *Oeuvres Choisies*, Librarie Poussielque, Paris p. 46, Note (1).

[106] Idem.

those who have conserved the memory of the time when their people were Christian. He gives as one example the following:

> Visiting one day a village near Fort National I was taken to the Djemâa where all the men were assembled to do me honor. After a long conversation suddenly I said to them: 'Do you know that your ancestors were great marabouts like me? They even had the most noted men of the world among them. One of them was named Cyprean, another Augustine. You had the same religion as we have. Do you know that?'
>
> " 'We have learned that,' said one of the elders. 'We know that our fathers followed another way, that of the Christians.'
>
> " 'Then how did they change?'
>
> " 'I will explain that to you,' said the old man. 'At that time our fathers believed it was the truth, but afterwards Mohammed came to the country and he showed us that we were wrong; since then we have followed him.'
>
> " 'And when was it that Mohammed came to Kabylia?'
>
> " 'Oh, oh,' said the old man, shaking his head, 'who knows. I didn't see him, nor did my father, perhaps it was a hundred years ago!' " [107]

Holme gives just the opposite view than Cardinal Lavigerie when he writes: "Amongst the pure Berber tribes there are hardly any traces of Christianity." [108]

Ibn Khaldoun tells us that the Berbers rejected Islam twelve times and returned to Christianity before they were won definitely to Islam.[109]

Le Clerq has written as follows of Christianity in Africa:

> "Christianity walked in the paths traced by the Roman administration. It is said from Tertullian that the gétules (Berbers) tribes heard the gospel announced before the beginning of the third century. The evangelization of this frontier does not have a history apart from the evangelization of Africa in general. One does not know any apostle of the Moors, one does not find a church nor a church organization especially for these people. Christianity fil-

[107] Cardinal Lavigèrie, op. cit., p. 457, Note 2.

[108] Holme, L. R., *The Extinction of the Christian Churches in North Africa*, C. J. Clay & Sons, London, p.

[109] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 215.

tered in closer and closer to the interior, as the province itself, and the bishoprics were founded in the middle of the population groups, at a greater or lesser distance from the interior. But it is always the African church." [110]

Johnston says of the Berbers:

"Only a few became Christianized, the bulk of the indigenous tribes showing disgust at the way in which the different Christian sects attacked and slew each other. The Jews having settled numerously in North Africa won over a number of Berber chieftains to the Jewish religion." [111]

Mesnage in his studies of Christianity in North Africa came to these conclusions:

1. That Romanization followed colonization.
2. That Christianity followed Romanization.
3. The presence of Christian remains which accompany Christian ruins prove that Christianity was practiced by Romanized natives, but the absence of remains in other places does not prove that the regions were not Christian or at least did have Christians. It could be that Christianity did exist even where now no remains are found.

The above led Mesnage to conclude further that:

1. The Berbers assimilated and Romanized were Christians.
2. The Berbers not assimilated but completely subdued, began to have themselves instructed but at the end of the fourth century they were still a very small number—*rarissimi atque paucissimi.*
3. There is not a Christian to be found among the Berbers who were not assimilated but who remained completely independent. One finds hundreds of such villages on the high plateaux.[112]

Randall-MacIver offers the following observations:

"That Islam should have retained its hold upon the lowland districts which were colonized and garrisoned by

[110] Le Clerq, H., *Dictionaire D'Archéologie Chretiénne et Liturgie,* Vol. I, Ire Partie, p. 577.

[111] Johnston, Sir H. H., *The Colonization of Africa,* University Press, Cambridge, p. 50.

[112] Mesnage, Père J., *Le Christianisme en Afrique,* Adolphe Jourdan, Algiers, pp. VI-IX.

> the invading race, is in no way remarkable; but it is certainly somewhat curious that the mountaineers, who in other respects preserved their individuality in so marked a degree, not only accepted but remained faithful to the newly introduced religion. It suggests at least that whatever preceded it cannot have been very deeply rooted in the hearts of the people. But what was it that Islamism supplanted? Was it Christianity or some earlier cult? It is not to be assumed without evidence, as seems often to be supposed, that the Kabyles and Chawïs were ever Christians. The historical probabilities are not much more in favor of such a view than they are opposed to it. Though Kabylia early came within the territory of a Roman province yet the Romans left it very much to itself, if we may judge from the fact that no vestige of settlements made by them is to be seen in the mountain parts of this region. The only substantial ground for affirming it to be probable that the Berbers of the mountains were ever Christianized is to be found in the fact that the mutual persecutions instituted by the various fanatical sections of the African church, drove many of its members into the mountains, where they may very possibly have preached their faith. In any case it is not probable that Christianity, even if it ever obtained any footing at all in the country, gained any considerable hold upon the people. It is possible, however, that it influenced them just so far as to shake preceding beliefs and that it thus left half-hearted converts who would oppose no strong prejudices to the creed of Islam.[113]

From the above observations and conclusions of historians, clergymen, and students of North African life we have various and contradictory answers to the question: Were the Kabyles Christian before they embraced Islam? Rome as a colonizer in North Africa had brought Christianity there, but how many of the Kabyles were Christians—that is a question which concerns us here.

Hanoteau speaks of a part of the Berber tribes embracing Judaism; Ibn Khaldoun says the same; Percy Smith also mentions the fact that some of the Berbers professed the Jewish religion; Soualah mentions the progress of Judaism as does Johnston. "At the end of the second century large numbers of

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[113] Randall-MacIver, D., and Wilkin, A., *Libyan Notes*, by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, p. 8.

Jews were found throughout North Africa." [114] From these various writers who lived at different times and approached their subject from various angles, we have the same fact brought out—the presence of large numbers of Jews in North Africa. If this was true, then probably they did win converts among the Berbers as these writers say. Present day evidence among the Kabyles would certainly tend to confirm this. In some parts of the country today there are whole villages who follow the Jewish religion. These people call themselves Kabyle Jews. They dress exactly like the rest of the Kabyles, they mingle with them, live as they live, but hold strictly to the tenets of the Jewish religion. They do not intermarry with the Moslems.

In the village of A—— there is one Jewish family of this kind. As in many places in Kabylia where these people are found, they are the jewelers of the village. This family keeps all the Jewish holidays but does not participate in any way in the Moslem festivities of the village. The family is never molested during Ramadan for not observing the fast, for the Moslems recognize this family as Jewish. The daughter attended a Mission school but would not eat anything cooked at the Mission because of her Orthodox Jewish food taboos. Whenever, for example, the children were given hard-boiled eggs for a festival occasion, this girl asked and received a raw egg which she could cook at home.

Kabyle merchants professing the Jewish religion and traveling through Little Kabylia stopped at a Mission to ask for a copy of the Old Testament. Since there have been no Jewish migrations into Kabylia since Islam came, these Jewish families must have been there prior to Islam and from the number who have survived to the present time it would seem that the groups which had accepted Judaism had accepted it wholeheartedly.

Ibn Khaldoun says that the Berbers professed the religion of their conquerors and that when under the domination of the Romans they professed Christianity. Here Khaldoun is speaking of the Berbers in general. But we are only studying the Kabyles, one branch of the Berbers. Even admitting that many of the Berbers might have been Christian, does this prove that the Kabyles were also professing Christians?

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[114] Donaldson, S. A., *Church Life and Thought in North Africa, A. D. 200*, University Press, Cambridge, by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, p. 105.

Rouquette says there were still Christians among them in the eleventh century. Cardinal Lavigèrie, quoting General Daumas with whom he agrees, says that the Kabyles in former times were all Christian. Johnston claimed only a few Berbers became Christian. Mesnage asserts that it was only the Berbers who had been Romanized who became Christian and we know that the Kabyles did not become Romanized. Those who say the Kabyles were Christian are mostly Roman Catholic writers. They have used this statement often in their work among the Kabyles. But is it true?

Mesnage and others say that Christianity followed in the steps of Roman civilization. Then if the Kabyles were Christian they must have been Romanized first. What evidences have we of Roman civilization in Kabylia? According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers withdrew from the plains because of the Arabs in the fifth century of the A. H. (11th century A. D.).[115] Rouquette says that the Kabyles withdrew into the mountains about 377 A. D. Here again is a discrepancy of dates. It is difficult to ascertain since there is so little known of early Kabyle history. But if the Kabyles were on the plain such a long time, they must have had more contact with the Romans and become more Christianized than if they withdrew to the mountains at an early date. Arab, Latin and European writers have furnished very little information prior to the sixteenth century. The characteristic fact of Kabyle history during this long period seems to have been the resistance of the Kabyles to foreign penetration. If they were able to offer such strong resistance, then they must have been in the mountains where this resistance was possible. Even the Romans did not succeed in establishing themselves in the massif, for the natives there rose in revolt several times, notably in the first century A. D.[116] Ibn Khaldoun in speaking of the Berbers, uses the term generally and does not mean to apply it to one particular group such as the Kabyles, who probably withdrew to the mountains during one of the invasions and, because of their independent spirit and geographical position, maintained their independence.

Did the Romans succeed in penetrating the mountains? There are no evidences that they did. No Roman ruins are found in Kabylia as they are in other parts of North Africa, such as at

[115] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 492.
[116] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, p. 599.

Limgud, Cherchell, Djelli. Except near the sea at Sertei, Novaricia and Satafi where churches were found, there is only one Christian ruin in the region, a single funeral one at Tala Ataf—half way between Taketount and Aïn Kebera. One may assume then that the native population was little touched by the gospel. It might well be that the one Christian ruin found belonged to a Roman who had fled the persecutors since he belonged to one of the schisms. If we follow the logic of Mesnage, that Christianity followed Roman civilization and Roman assimilation, then we must assume that there were very few if any Christians among the Kabyles at the time of the Arab invasion. On the other hand, references are to be found, asserting that the Kabyles were Donatists. Yver says that the Kabyles adopted Donatist doctrines in the fourth century A. D.[117]

The Donatists were a powerful schism which arose in the Christian church of Northern Africa at the beginning of the fourth century. They derived their name from Donatus surnamed Magnus, who was connected with the movement and who succeeded Majorinus as the Donatist Bishop of Carthage.[118]

> "Donatism was not a heresy, neither did it develop any heretical teaching. It was not a dispute as to the organization of the Church, or even one concerning discipline merely, which underlay the schism. Both parties held by the episcopate, as both held to the creeds. Donatism represents an attempt—the final one for a thousand years—to resist the process of secularization by which the church was gradually transformed from a community of holy persons into an institution of mixed character, offering to secure salvation for its members by means of grace over which it had sole control.[119]

No doubt some of the Donatists fled before the persecution of the church into the mountains of Kabylia, which place seems always to have been a shelter for those who for any reason needed to escape punishment or to flee persecution. If some Donatists fled to the mountains, they may have furnished whatever Christian element was found among the people. As far as the Kabyle population is concerned, it seems doubtful if it were ever Christian.

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[117] Yver, G., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, p. 599b.
[118] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Vol. VIII, p. 410.
[119] Scott, C. A., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, p. 844b.

If the Kabyles were not Christian what were they? Could the Kabyles be among those whom Ibn Khaldoun calls pagan worshipers of the sun, the moon and idols?[120] Herodotus speaks of the Libyan nomads who sacrificed to the sun and the moon.[121] This is quite probable. If many of the Berber tribes did worship the sun and moon, it is quite possible that the Kabyles were among them, though present evidences do not give proof either for or against this.

Gsell believes that certain magic practices found among the Berbers undoubtedly go back to very ancient times. Among those mentioned by him which are carried on today in Kabylia, is the practice of tying bits of rag on trees in order to be delivered from evil or in order to receive some *baraka*.[122] This is practiced not only among Moslem people but also in many parts of the world as a rite for expelling evil.[123] Tylor mentions that rags, locks of hair and other things are hung on trees near sacred places by the superstitious from Mexico to India and from Ethiopia to Ireland.[124] He cites from among the New Zealanders and Dayaks instances of customs similar to those practiced by the Kabyles who hang rags on trees.[125]

Gsell observes that among the Berbers one finds certain customs which may be interpreted as vague indications of a primitive zoolatry, or at least of ancient alliances between beasts and men: particular regard for certain animals, respect for their life, abstinence from their meat. He goes on to tell the story given by Diodore of Sicily who tells of the expedition of Agathocle which took place at the end of the fourth century B. C. This historian tells of a country peopled by a multitude of monkeys, where three cities are found named for the monkeys. The monkeys lived in the homes of the men, who regarded them as gods; they disposed as they liked of what they had in their mouths. The parents gave by preference to their children names of monkeys. To kill a monkey was the greatest impiety, and was punishable by death.[126]

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[120] Ibn Khaldoun, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 177.
[121] Herodotus, (Translated by A. D. Godley, IV: 188).
[122] Gsell, S., op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 242.
[123] Doutté, E., op. cit., p. 437.
[124] Tylor, E. B., *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 150.
[125] Tylor, Ibid, p. 223.
[126] Gsell, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 244-245.

This is most interesting in the light of the belief about monkeys still held in Kabylia today. In the cork forests of Little Kabylia live many monkeys. One sees them in groups when passing along the forest roads. The Kabyles would not for the world kill one of them. They believe that a person who kills a monkey is in danger of becoming a cripple. A Kabyle once told the writer of a certain man who was badly crippled saying that he became so afflicted because he had killed a monkey. No doubt this belief dates far back into Berber antiquity.

Engravings prove that from ancient times the natives of North Africa not only adored local spirits, clan gods, but that the worship of a great divine cosmic, the sun, was "effused" in the southern part of Oran from Aflou to Figuig, and without doubt also in the country between this and Egypt.[127]

There are places in North Africa where prehistoric engravings are found on rocks. These are of savage and domestic animals, mostly quadrupeds, sometimes of people in simple silhouettes. These have no doubt been made over a long period of time—perhaps over several generations. It is impossible to explain precisely the significance of the large part of the engravings, and some of them may date from as early as one thousand B. C.[128] None of these engravings are found in Kabylia. These people must have been located down on the plain at this time and doubtless some of the engravings may belong to the Kabyles, too.

Westermarck thinks that the prominence given to the ram in the sacrificial cult and in other phases of worship may be reasonably supposed to have its foundation in ancient Berber beliefs. He cites the fact that Al-Bakri states that as late as the eleventh century a tribe of idolatrous Berbers in the Great Atlas were worshiping a ram, and that in consequence none of them dared to go to the market of their neighbors except in disguise.[129]

On the rock engravings among the Berbers there are evidences of the worship of rams. This would indicate that in primitive times they devoted themselves to the adoration of sacred animals. The worship was practiced especially in the caves, on the heights and near the sacred trees, such as olive trees, or near the springs, with magical ceremonies, fires, dances and sacrifices. The beliefs in *djnoun*, good and bad, brought into being the

[127] Ibid, p. 253.
[128] Gsell, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 264-269.
[129] Westermarck, op. cit., p. 104.

local deities to which they later added Amon borrowed from Egypt. Baal-Saturn introduced from Carthage, Ceres coming from Greece and other divinities in the pagan temples.[130]

Out of all the vague data which has been cited, it is difficult to come to any definite conclusions about the ancient religion of the Kabyles. It seems clear that at one time they may have been worshipers of the ram, and of the sun; that they shared with other primitive peoples the belief in the evil eye, in evil spirits—*djnoun*, in sacred places; and that they celebrated certain fire festivals, summer festivals and other pagan rites.

Looking upon the Kabyles in a superficial manner, it has often been said that it must have been a tremendous change for them to become Moslem after having been Christian. But when closer examination is made of their religious history, there are indications that the change has not been so great. The Kabyles were probably never Christian,—at least, if there were Christians among them, it was only a very insignificant number. Then was it such a profound change? The Kabyles became Moslems—they adopted the creed of Islam, but they have not adopted Koranic law. They have kept their own *kanouns*, saying that the Koranic law was meant for people habituated to desert life, not to the far different type found in the mountains. The Kabyles have kept their belief in evil spirits, in the evil eye, in *baraka*, in sacred trees, springs, rocks, and animal sacrifice. Certain pagan festivals that they had observed in pre-Islamic days were adapted to the Moslem festivals, making them Moslem-Kabyle celebrations.

From what is known of the ancient religion and beliefs of the Berber people it is not surprising that they became Moslem, so little change was needed from their former ways to adapt the Moslem religion to themselves. It is often said that the sword conquered North Africa for Islam. That is true to a certain extent. The Arabs conquered the country by the sword. But a people as independent as the Kabyles, who even today maintain their independence from Islam in certain practices could never have been won to Islam, had it not had so many elements in common with the religious life of the Kabyles.

Macdonald says that the Moslem impress was slow in making its way in North Africa beyond Egypt. That though the

[130] Soualah, Mohammed, op. cit., p. 19.

Arab army had fought its way painfully through, the Berber tribes remained only half subdued and one-tenth Islamized. 'Abdur-Rahmán, son of the Caliph Mu'awiya, one who escaped the slaughter of his house (The Omayyad), spent five adventurous years in North Africa during which he tried in vain to win over the Berbers (A. D. 753).[131]

Yet Macdonald says that Islam in North Africa was a failure for more than three centuries. He points out the interesting fact that it was not until the possibility came to the Berbers to construct Moslem states out of their own tribes that their opposition began to weaken.[132] With their strong independent spirit, the possibility of Berber Moslem states would appeal to them and probably was the wedge which opened the way for them to become adherents to a religion that had so much in common with their own religious beliefs and practices.

In comparing North African Christianity and Islam, do we find any common elements, and if so, have they reacted in the same way upon the people? Neither Christianity nor Islam came to the Kabyles in their own language. Macdonald in speaking of the Moslem Berber Ibn Tumart and his movement in the sixth century in calling the Berbers to arms says that Ibn Tumart translated the Koran into the Berber language, that the calls to prayer were given in Berber, that functionaries of the church had to know Berber; that his own theological writings circulated in Berber as well as in Arabic.[133] These were for Berber tribes in Morocco.[134] Ibn Tumart tried working among the Kabyles at Bougie but his reforms met with so much opposition he was compelled to flee.[135]

The prayers which the Moslem Kabyles use are in Arabic and very few of the people understand what is being said. Most of them do not know what is in the Koran. Some will even recount very absurd stories which they believe come from the Koran. For example: In discussing an earthquake which had taken place the night before, a Kabyle woman said to the mis-

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[131] Ross, E., *Islam*, p. 48.

[132] Macdonald, D. B., *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, pp. 243-244.

[133] Macdonald, D. B., op. cit., pp. 243-244.

[134] Basset, R., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, p. 426.

[135] Idem.

sionary that she could explain the reason for it. She said she had been told the reason by a marabout who had read it from the holy book—the Koran. She explained how the earth rests upon one horn of a bull, that when the bull gets tired of the weight, he shakes his head and shifts the earth to the other horn. Thus it is that the shake of the head of the bull causes the earthquake.

LeClerq says that "All leads us to believe that it was in Greek and Latin that Christianity was preached in North Africa. The Christians of the country had at their disposition only the Greek text *des Septante,* the version called *Itala* and perhaps fragmentary translations which have come down to us." [136]

Both Christianity and Islam were taken to the Berbers by a conquering people. The Romans took Christianity, carrying it as they colonized, but reaching only the people among whom colonies were planted. Hence, since we hear of no colonies among the Kabyles, we naturally hear of few Christians among them. In the history of the African church, we do not hear of any concentrated effort on the part of the church to reach these people.

Both Christianity and Islam faced the same type of people: Berbers, a people who were doggedly independent, practicing primitive religion, looking askance at any religious or political system which might in any way cramp their freedom. But Islam won out. It has already been pointed out that Islam fitted into the cultural pattern and religion of the people, and also, that the people bringing Islam, convinced the Berbers that their political needs could be fulfilled in Islam. But this is not the whole story. Holme says that it was not so much Christianity as the mode of its presentation that repelled the Berbers. The few Berbers who did cling so stubbornly to Christianity, exhibited the characteristic Berber trait of tenaciousness which might have meant much to the survival of the church in North Africa, had the church in its prime managed to secure the devotion of all the Berbers.

> But the uncompromising attitude of African Christianity nipped the first promise of Moorish Christianity in the bud. The Berber character was narrow but strong. Seizing upon certain vital principles of doctrine, it disregarded

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[136] Le Clerq, H., *Dictionnaire D'Archéologie Chretienne,* p. 748.

> the rest and was prepared to sacrifice everything rather than give way in the matters on which it had pinned its faith. Extreme veneration for personal piety, separation from all weaker brethren and fierce intolerance were the principal marks of its religion.[137]

The Moors who did accept Christianity found in the schisms, such as Donatism, a great appeal. But the Church would not tolerate the schisms. The Church, says Holme, fell in North Africa because it appealed to the civilized Romans alone, and not to the barbarian Moors. Further, circumstances forced them to assume a hostile and uncompromising attitude towards the form of Christianity adopted by the Moors, and the life of the Church was bound up with the Roman domination in the Province.[138]

What seems to have survived in the religion of the Kabyles from former times? We call them Moslem and in many ways they are very fanatical adherents to Islam. But we find today that same spirit of intolerance, that same tenacious holding to what they believe, which the Berbers displayed at the time of the Romans. This cannot be said to be either a survival of Christianity or Islam. Rather, there are these innate personality characteristics which have survived across the ages with these people which probably furnish one of the chief reasons why so many writers claim that there has been no change in them.

Gone from among them is any worship of the ram, or Baal-Saturn, or any other gods. The faith of Islam has triumphed. There is no god but God:

> "And Your God
> Is One God,
> There is no god
> But He,
> Most Gracious
> Most Merciful." [139]

While we see many primitive survivals in the religion of the Kabyles today, we cannot point with accuracy to distinctly

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[137] Holme, L. R., *The Extinction of the Christian Churches in North Africa*, C. J. Clay & Sons, London, p. 250.

[138] Holme, op. cit., pp. 249-255.

[139] Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *Translation of The Holy Qur'an*, Sura II: 163.

Christian survivals. This supports our belief that Christianity was practically non-existent among the Kabyles. We do see that some change has come, in so far as they have adopted beliefs and practices not a part of their primitive religion. We also see that some changes that would ordinarily occur with the coming of Islam have not taken place because these people have not accepted them. Martin says:

> "It is not exact to say, according to the idea commonly held that religions form men, it is just the contrary, it is men who form religions. And when a race or a subdivision of a race accepts a religion coming from elsewhere, it adapts the religion according to its own particular nature, virtues, aptitudes and special tastes. Thus Islam, primitive and simple as we have seen the structure, and which the Semitic Arabs brought to North Africa had to undergo adjustments to adapt itself to the character of the North Africans (Berbers)." [140]

May we hope for change in the future in the religion of this people? An affirmative answer to this question is of course what keeps Christian missionaries among them today. Hanoteau claims:

> "The Christian propaganda in Kabylia will always find before it an insurmountable obstacle in the strict solidarity which binds the individual to the family, the family to the *kharouba*, the *kharouba* to the village, and the village to the tribe. Unless there is mass conversion in the country, a thing very improbable, the individual, even the family, that wishes to abjure Islam, will be obliged from inclination or from force to leave the country." [141]

There are historic reasons for the marked religious antipathy to Christianity among the Berbers. Their fathers utterly destroyed the great church of Augustine throughout these lands. Christian minorities survived the Moslem conquest in the Near East, but not in North Africa, and the pride of the utter conquest remains unto this day.[142]

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[140] Martin, A. G. P., Precés de Sociologie Nord Africaine, Ernest Leroux, Paris, Editeur, Part I, p. 61.

[141] Hanoteau et Letourneux, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 381-382.

[142] Cochraine, T., *The Kingdoms of the World, World Dominion*, Nov.-Dec., 1940, O. 367.

Miollan writing in *"En Terre D'Islam"* says that after several centuries of Moslem domination—*"L'Islam n'a fait qu' effleurer l'âme et la conscience du Berbère."* He goes on to say that the Berber by origin is only a superficial Moslem, and, with rare exceptions, is far from being a perfect adept of Mohammed. He adds that in spite of all, the Berbers say they are Moslems and that whoever, like himself, tries to prove the contrary, risks being unwelcome.[143] Though the Berber does not keep the Koranic law and though many of his customs and ways are bound up as they are in the *Kanoun* and are contrary to Moslem Law, yet it would be absurd to say that the Berbers are superficial Moslems. The writer's experience indicates that they believe in the creed of Islam and so far as they have been instructed and know Islam they follow its tenets. True, many of them are ignorant of many Islamic teachings, but what they do know and have accepted, they follow from conviction and do not act in any half-hearted way.

A White Father from one of the Catholic Missions in Kabylia writing of his work among the Moslems has this to say:

> Yes, the Moslems can become Christianized. Christianized, they also become French at heart, and into their Christian and French home, the native woman takes progressively but naturally her dignity, her rights, her influence, her action. Particularly in Kabylia, encouraging results have been obtained and numerous conversions have taken place among the populations in which our mission stations are found.[144]

In the same book are given numerous examples of Christians among the Kabyles. Far be it from the writer to doubt the sincerity of these accounts, or to be too skeptical about the wonderful and in some instances quick conversions to Catholicism which are recounted. But a number of years of experience in this same country and among this same people does arouse questions as to just how Christian the people in the stories cited really are.

Bel is very skeptical when he says that while the French government has been unsuccessful in bringing about a political

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[143] Miollan, Les Berbères de L'Afrique Du Nord Au Regard do L'Islam, *En Terre D'Islam,* Troisième Trimestre, 1938, pp. 257-260.

[144] *L'Islam et Les Missions Catholiques,* pp. 198-199.

assimilation of the Berbers, the French and English, Catholic and Protestant Missions long established in French Barbary have also been unsuccessful in the conversion of the native Moslems to Christianity. Christians sincere and thoughtful, like that of a young Moroccan of Fez, in the last years are very exceptional.[145]

Vanlande in telling of his visits among the White Fathers recounts how he asked one Father if he was unable to do all for the Kabyles he would like to do, were they not grateful for his devotion and help? The reply is significant:

> Perhaps! Certainly parents bring their children to us and ask that they be taught the catechism in preparation for baptism: in reality they have discovered there an economic means to have private French lessons which will permit them to solicit employment in the Administration. What a difference between these Berbers and the peasants in our country (France) to whom they are sometimes compared. Physically, without doubt they present some analogies. But what obscure rapacity! Not a ray of idealism. All for the material.[146]

Again we find the White Fathers telling of their successes among the Moslem Kabyles, counting more than a thousand Christians, registering in a single year nearly a hundred marriages, having more than a thousand children in their schools.[147] These figures sound almost fantastic to some who have labored for years among these people; and yet it is possible to have the figures, yet mere figures carry no assurance as to sincerity or faithfulness of individuals concerned. Just as we are beginning to realize in America that long lists on our church rolls do not necessarily mean a large group of vital Christians, nor hundreds of marriages performed by our ministers and priests do not by any means indicate a like number of Christian homes, so a large number in attendance at Christian dispensaries or Christian institutions in Kabylia does not mean a large number of Kabyle Christians.

One instance occurred when a Protestant Mission established a carpet industry. A large number of Kabyles were employed.

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[145] Bel, A., op. cit., pp. 16-17.

[146] Vanlande, R., *Chez Les Pères Blancs*, J. Peyronnet & Cie, Paris, pp. 61-62.

[147] Vanlande, op. cit., p. 85.

Many of them were baptized and became members of the church. Some of them had Christian weddings. A communion service was held at one time during Ramadan to show that the people were not fasting. But a means was found to keep the fast while at the same time taking communion. When the service was over the elements which had been held in the mouth, and never swallowed, were ejected. Before the Christian missionaries communion had been kept, thus breaking Ramadan. But in the eyes of the Moslems, Ramadan had not been broken for the elements had not been swallowed.

If certain material benefits were offered it would not be difficult today to begin a Christian church in many communities in Kabylia. But the Kabyles, with but rare exceptions, attracted by the material benefits, would remain Moslem at heart.

There are forces other than Christianity which are working for the disintegration of Islam. Blackmore enumerates some of the ways in which France has been working unconsciously but powerfully and surely for this disintegration: "better roads, railways, postal and telegraph service, her administrators, police and halls of justice, her colonists and men of commerce, her doctors and lawyers, are all solvents that are gradually softening the hard mass of Mohammedanism." [148]

There is no doubt that as French colonization efforts become more and more effective in Kabylia, changes will occur in the religion of the people. This has already been seen in a number of the "intellectuals" who have attended French schools and who through the teaching received there and the contacts they have made, have come out of the schools no longer faithful Moslems, but with atheistic tendencies.

In the cafes where Kabyle and French men are mingling more freely than ever before, one finds many of the Kabyles following the example of their French friends and indulging in liquor—a thing strictly forbidden by Islam. Since the World War of 1914-1918, there has been a great increase in drinking among Kabyle young men. Among these younger men, many of whom have spent some time working in France, there is a great relaxation in the keeping of Ramadan. Though the majority still break Ramadan only in secret, it is done to a great extent.

Thus we see that certain forces are at work in Kabylia which

[148] Blackmore, J. T. C., France: A disintegrator of Islam, *The Moslem World*, Vol. 14, 1924, p. 136.

are bringing about change in attitude and practice among the Moslems. As educational facilities increase among them, as more and more of them come into intimate contact with European culture, greater and more profound changes will occur in the thinking and life of the people which will have effective influence in changing their religious attitudes. Whether this will mean changes within the structure of Islam itself to meet the needs of the people or whether it will mean the adoption of Christianity depends largely on which force is better able to adjust itself to the needs of the people and adequately meet these needs.

Skeptical as this writer has seemed to be over the results of Christian Missions so far among the Kabyles, there have been some excellent results both in Catholic and Protestant work. Thorough-going conversions have not been many as yet, and there have been no mass movements among the people toward Christianity. However, there are in some instances third generation Christians. The finest Christians, the strongest ones, seem to be those who have been trained and educated since childhood in Christian institutions. Sent to European schools, these children have grown up with their interests centered more in French life than in Kabyle life. They have established Christian homes, in a French quarter of the city usually, or if in a Kabyle community, have lived on a much higher level than their fellow Kabyles. This has caused a breach between the Christians and their Moslem families and other village people which has made their influence for Christianity little felt among their own people.

Probably the most hopeful piece of work that is being done by the Kabyle Christians for their own people is one which was begun about seven years ago. Under the leadership of a few of the better educated men, arrangements were made to hold a conference at Easter time to bring together the Christian men. It was a tremendous moral support to all of them to share experiences and to talk over problems and to realize how many there were of them when they came together. It was a tremendous help to a lone Christian from some isolated village to realize that he was not alone, that he had fellow Christians in other lonely places who were living just as isolated a life as far as fellow Christians were concerned. The programs for these conferences are planned by the Kabyle and Arab Christians and carried out by them. Missionaries are present at the conference

which is held at a central place, a French Mission station in the heart of Kabylia. The missionaries are not the moving power of the conference; this is carried out by the indigenous group. As the conference has developed through these few years, the women have come to be included and also the youth group. It is an excellent opportunity for missionaries to learn what opinions prevail among the Christian group, what they are seeking in Christianity, what they have found, and which way they are going. The alert missionary will find in such gatherings much valuable material for the building of more effective programs and the application of better techniques in the furtherance of Christianity among the Kabyles. The fellowship at such a conference is a most enriching experience.

The Kabyles will not become Christian in a short time. An adequate Christian program will take into consideration a long-time view. The Arabs did not Islamize the Kabyles in a few short years. In fact, the Berbers were not completely Islamized until the middle of the eleventh century.[149]

Means of transportation make it easier to reach the interior of Kabylia now than it did at the time of the Arab invasion. But there were many more Arabs in the invasion making their impact felt upon Kabylia than there are Christian missionaries in the country. The Arab Moslem has always been a missionary wherever he has gone no matter what his work might be. This is not true of the European. Many of the colonists and others in North Africa who call themselves Christian have many contacts with the Kabyles, yet do not consider it any part of their work in any way to wield a Christian influence upon the people.

If Christianity is to make itself felt in Kabylia, the Christian church must somehow get the interest and support in an active way of the European Christians who live in the country and who are in daily contact with many of these people. Then, also, the missionary force must be increased. The program must be built with a long-time view, not looking forward to twenty-five years but to a hundred, two hundred or even longer. Missionaries who come to the Kabyles will need an adequate knowledge of primitive peoples to understand and appreciate the people among whom they come to work. Hastings has well said:

> As Christians our first duty to the Africans is to know their minds, their institutions, their problems, and their

[149] Bel, A., op. cit., p. 187.

aspirations. What we, who came from without do or attempt to do for a people, in spite of their desires or without their intelligent and willing cooperation, can scarcely be valuable or permanent, since it remains external to their minds, their wishes, their habits. Only that which expresses and reaches the character of the community will endure: all that is imposed from without falls into ruin and decay.[150]

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[150] Hastings, D. A., *Ovimbundu Customs and Practices as Centered Around the Principles of Kinship and Psychic Power*, p. 317.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION

THE Kabyles, living as they have for many centuries in the Djurdjura Mountains, have been in a geographical position favorable to resist change. Their isolation has kept them comparatively free from the impact of the invading peoples of North Africa.

Their spirit of independence has been a strong factor in holding them aloof from other civilizations. In spite of all the invasions into North Africa they maintained their independence until the coming of the French in 1830. Even then some of the tribes were not finally conquered until 1857.

The rigid adherence to custom and to their customary laws has been a tremendous obstacle to change among the Kabyles. Going on generation after generation with the same laws to guide them, holding steadfastly to these laws, even defying Moslem legislation because of customary law, has hindered change by means of Moslem authority.

Profound reverence for the elders and respect for the past has kept the Kabyles following the ways of their ancestors, and because their thinking has been rooted in traditionalism, this also has impeded change.

Education, that force which so often dispels ignorance and opens men's minds, has not been available in Kabylia long enough to cause any marked transformation of the masses.

The woman in Kabylia, kept in an inferior position, steeped in the traditions of the race, isolated from the outside world, ignorant, yet in her very position as mother wields a potent influence against change.

These factors have helped to keep the Kabyle seemingly static. But this is only part of the picture. There have been other forces at work.

There were people, who in the various invasions, fled into Kabylia, for example the Donatists. Although these people lost their identity and were seemingly absorbed into the Kabyle population, they left their influence as a part of the "little piled-up effects" which in time will bring change to a people. Some of the invading peoples left an imprint upon the vocabulary of

the Kabyles—notably the Arab and French have done this. Again they have brought new ideas and new elements into the cultural pattern of the people.

There are certain conflicts which on one hand cause resistance, and on the other cause acceptance, which are strong factors in change. Education, accepted by the youth, resisted by the aged, will in time bring about readjustments. To be able to read opens up an entirely new world and as the illiteracy level recedes, a whole new world of ideas will be open to the people.

Young men who have been in France return to live very much as they had in the past, but this may often be due to the fact that the solidarity of the village, opposing change, is too strong for them. As the number of those who have contact with Europeans in the cities or in France increases, so will their strength to resist the tradition of the village increase. Many of the men have been and still are in the army. Their war experiences will no doubt cause upheavals in their ways of thinking and acting.

The French government has tried to bring about change through legislation. This has been successful only to the degree in which it appealed to the minds of the people.[1] When the people themselves have reached the place where they see the need of change, legislation is successful. There has been enough public sentiment in Kabylia to enforce, to a fair degree, the legislation regulating the age of marriage. But there is not as yet sufficient sentiment to make effective the legislation relative to inheritance and divorce rights of women.

The break-up of the patriarchal home, the men now taking their families to live where they have work, has brought change into the family status and into the entire family life. No longer will the eldest male rule the lives of the entire family, for those under a roof of their own will have a tendency to manage their own affairs. It may mean more stability in marriage if the women are away from the eagle eye of the mother-in-law.

More contacts with the outside world will lead them to try new inventions and more modern ways of doing things. Already this is seen in the adoption in part of European dress by many of the men. A radical change in the vital olive industry is being brought about by the introduction of more modern olive-presses.

Change may only be coming about very slowly through some

[1] Bosanquet, H., *The Strength of the People*, p. 1.

of these. But no people remains forever the same. Change—be it good or bad—must take place. The Kabyles are not an exception to the rule in this instance.

It is true that there are some very striking places in the life of these people where change has not so far occurred. Their pottery is one such example, for in the making of pottery and in their weaving the women have day after day, year in and year out, copied the same patterns. No new pottery has been introduced and they seem to have had no opportunity to know of anything different.

Again, the theory of the "sleeping child," which probably dates from an early period, has continued unchanged, except that the period for the child to "come to life" has been modified to two years. Modern education and training will in time eliminate even this from the thinking of youth.

The solidarity of the village and family has largely persisted through the same form of government and the same type of family life, in spite of factors which tend to disturb its continuity.

A force which may be said to have altered the trend of life for the Kabyle was the invasion of the Arabs, bringing Islam, as a faith, though not as law.

Another important factor which has brought drastic change to the Kabyle is the occupation of Algeria by the French. This has brought the Kabyle into contact with a European civilization, with a government having a strong colonial policy. The French government through its colonists touches and influences the Kabyle. The French educational system which is reaching deeper and deeper into Kabylia is opening the minds of the youth to new opportunities and to new ways of doing things. French legislation has been an aid to changes which progressive Kabyles have demanded.

Although these forces may not be visible in the every-day life of the people, they are silently bringing about alteration. They are potent forces which the conservative, tradition-bound Kabyle will not be able to withstand.

In looking forward to the future of the Kabyle there are some traits among them which may well be utilized to bring about change among them. If the Christian missionary wants to build a constructive program for the betterment of these people, he will do well to pause and evaluate certain Kabyle traits.

The spirit of solidarity which has been such a strong factor all through Kabyle history is a strength with which the missionary must reckon. The successful Christian program to these people will need to be one which will enlist the interest and sympathy of the whole family, of the whole village. A program will never be successful which plans for isolated groups—children in one type of project, mothers in another, fathers in still another; the solidarity of the village strikes counter to this.

Again, the spirit of independence which has kept the Kabyles so resistant to change, must be considered. Certainly a missionary program which is not dogmatic but which gives freedom to develop in an indigenous way the truths of Christianity will have a greater appeal to the independent spirit of these people.

The Kabyle is persistent and loyal. These are traits which will make strong Christians when they are properly evaluated and utilized. Pride is another. This has many times been the downfall, not only of the Kabyle, but of the people of every race. Yet, sublimated and recognized, it may be a strength to any people.

The missionary will need thorough preparation in Islamics and as fluent as possible a knowledge of French, Arabic and Kabyle. He will necessarily need to be keen, alert, and a constant student of the life of the Kabyle people, often learning from them more than he is able to teach them. Again, the missionary to these people will need to be aware of and responsive to factors that are working among the people to bring about change.

> The new missions, if they are what they should be, will be created only by honest and courageous souls who are willing to face the new day with open eyes and with no reservations, and who with hope and love born of faith in the living God will dare to work out, each in his own place, methods adapted to the altered conditions.[2]

The missionary program will need to minister to the social, economic, political and religious needs of the people, being "all things to all people." The missionary and Mission Board must not be concerned with numbers but with the total impact Christianity makes upon the total life of the Kabyle people. This will

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[2] *Missions Tomorrow*, by Kenneth Scott Latourette, Harper & Brothers, publishers, p. 156.

be done by the dynamic Christian living of consecrated men and women who will seek to meet the everyday needs of the people. As the missionary ministers in the name of Christ through his witness, or his teaching, nursing, social, recreational or agricultural training, he will need to keep ever clear his vision of what the Kabyle may become in Christ.

> "The profession of the missionary is one of the most exacting and difficult of all—and one of the most fruitful. It involves primarily and fundamentally a Christian experience and Christian conviction that eventuates in a quality of life which is the most compelling evidence of the truth of the "good news." In addition, the best technical training is none too good—whether for the ministry, teaching medicine, nursing or whatever the special branch of mission service may be. Missionaries, too, must acquire an intimate knowledge of the culture and language of the people to whom they go. They must have the qualities of good judgment, poise, humor, patience, a love for their fellows of their own and alien races, and a genius for friendship." [3]

According to the impact made—both upon individuals and society—can Christianity hope to strengthen the course of the fine things in the religious and cultural life of the Kabyles and to overcome those things which hinder the abundant life. If Christianity is to succeed in Kabylia, the Kabyles must adapt it to meet adequately their needs. Never will it triumph if adopted, as brought from the West.

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[3] Latourette, K. S., op. cit., pp. 174-175.

APPENDIX

Hanoteau et Letourneux

Many important references in the foregoing chapters have been taken from *"La Kabylie et les Coutumes Kabyles"* by A. Hanoteau et A. Letourneux. This book "after more than a half century is still the fundamental work for the study of the country." [1] Unfortunately it is now out of print but is available in libraries.

Adolphe Hanoteau was born at Decize June 12, 1814. He was a very fine student at the Royal College de Moulins. From the Ecole Polytechnique he entered the army. Being sent to Algiers as Captain in 1845, and entering the central service of Arab affairs in 1846. In 1853, after a short stay in Paris, he was appointed to a place in the political bureau for Arab affairs.

He began his intimate work in Kabylia in 1854 and continued it in 1856 when he took part in the expeditions there. In 1858 he published a Kabyle Grammar. In 1862 he published *"Poésies populaires de la Kabylie du Jurjura."*

The gathering of the materials and the preparation of his most important book *"La Kabylie et les Coutumes Kabyles"* took place between 1859 and 1868.[2]

> The commander Hanoteau knew Kabyle in all its details; his trips on horseback, his visits in the tribes, took him into all the Kabyle villages; knowing the language, he was able to question the people and to obtain the facts from them; his functions of *administratur* taught him all the intrigues, the disputes, the crimes and misdemeanors.[3]

M. Letourneux, son of a magistrate in Rennes, was a consulor in the Court of Algiers. He collaborated with Hanoteau in 1864-1865 on the book, and they finished it in 1868.[4]

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[1] Bernard, A. et Milliot L., Les Qânôuns Kabyles Dans l'Ouvrage de Hanoteau et Letourneux, *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1933, p. 1.

[2] Ibid, pp. 1-3.

[3] Bernard, A. et Milliot, L., op. cit., p. 3.

[4] Ibid, p. 9.

Succession Ordinaire [5]

Qualité des Héritiers	*Conditions dans lesquelles s'ouvre la succession*	*Quotité des parts*
1. Descendance mâle par les mâle	1. Pas d'ascendant mâle de la ligne paternelle	Toute la succession
	2. Ascendant mâle (ligne paternelle)	5/6
2. Ascendants mâles (par les mâles) de la ligne paternelle	1. Pas de descendance mâle directe	Toute la succession
	2. Descendance directe	1/6
3. Açb de la ligne paternelle collatérale	1. Descendance mâle directe ou ascendant	Néant
	2. Pas de descendance mâle directe, pas d'ascendant	Toute la succession
4. Frères utérins	1. Un des héritier designés ci-dessus	Néant
	2. Aucun de ces héritiers	
	a. s'il y a plusieurs frères utérins	1/3
	b. s'il n'y en a qu'un	1/6
5. Khrouba	1. Un des héritiers ci-dessus designés sauf le frère utérin	Néant
	2. Aucun de ces héritiers mais	
	a. plusieurs frères utérins	2/3
	b. un seul frère utérin	5/6
	3. Aucun de ces héritiers sans exception	Toute la succession
6. Village (djemâa)	1. Un des héritiers ci-dessus designés sauf le frère utérin	Néant
	2. Aucun de ces héritiers mais:	
	a. plusieurs frères utérins	2/3
	b. un frère utérin	5/6
	3. Aucun des héritiers y compris le frère utérin	Toute la succession

[5] Hanoteau, A., et Letourneux, A., Les Coutumes Kabyles, Vol. II, p. 291.

Kabyle Legends and Traditions

(Legend from Great Kabylia)

THE LION, THE JACKAL, THE MULE, AND THE ASSEMBLY OF ANIMALS [1]

One day all the animals met in a certain place. They said among themselves: "Let us plan a trick on the mule, to eat him. We'll question each other about our father; whoever is questioned must say who his father is. The mule will not say, because his father is a donkey, he will be ashamed; he will not say, 'The donkey is my father.' We will say among us that whoever does not name his father we will eat him."

They began to question each other beginning with the lion.

"Uncle Abou'l H'arith, who is your father?"

"The lion."

They continued with the jackal: "Moh'and, who is your father?"

"The jackal."

They passed to the donkey. "Who is your father?"

"The donkey."

Then to the ox: "Who is your father?"

"The ox."

Then the horse: "Who is your father?"

"The horse."

They came to the mule: "Who is your father?"

"The horse is my maternal uncle."

They laughed, left him and went to the others. They put the same question to the hedgehog, the tortoise, the marten, the fox, the greyhound, the wild-boar, and the dog who all made the same answer.

When they had finished they returned to the mule and said to him: "Come on, mule, tell us, who is your father?"

"I will tell you only that the horse is my maternal uncle."

"We asked about your father, not about your uncle."

"Very well, see here, my father placed writing on my feet, look at this writing, you will find my name."

The jackal examined him from afar. He said to the lion: "Uncle Abou'l H'arith, it is you who have good eyes to decipher the letters which are there, because that writing is scrib-

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[1] Basset, R., *Contes Populaires D'Afrique*, p. 25ff.

bled, what is more, I have sore eyes, they do not see well. Go, look, you have good eyes, it is you who will decipher these letters."

The lion came forward to look from afar. The mule said to him: "Come forward, so that you, can see well."

He came forward, the mule let him do it. When he was near to his foot, the mule stood erect on his front feet and struck the lion with his hind feet; he hit him on the forehead and turned him over backwards.

On seeing the lion fall and struggle the jackal jumped on him, and seized him by the tail to devour him. The lion said to him: "Moh'and, is this what we agreed upon?"

"For me," answered the jackal, "it is he who falls that I take for my nourishment. If it had been the mule who had fallen, it is upon him that I would have jumped. As it is, let me satisfy myself on your flesh; it is there I have my chance now."

SI DJEH'A AND THE ROBBERS! [2]

Once upon a time Djeh'a went to market, upon a tall mule which his father had left to him. When he arrived there he met some robbers. They were four and had a donkey.

"Si Djeh'a," they said, "you mount this mule. You are a fool. One of these days you will fall off this animal and you will die. Come on, we will give you in exchange our donkey. He is small. So if you fall, you will not die."

"That is true," said Djeh'a.

"What will you give us besides in the trade?" asked the robbers.

"I thought," replied Djeh'a, "that I would have nothing more to give."

"How's that! You will not give us anything extra? We are doing you a good turn, and you do us a bad one! We are afraid you will fall some day, that you will die, and then, Goodbye, Si Djeh'a."

"Tell me, how much I ought to give you in this trade."

"Add one hundred duras.[3] We will be content with that because of our love for you."

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[2] Mouliéras, A., *Les Fourberies De Si Djeh'a*, p. 131, ff. Note: This same story is given in another Kabyle legend which has for hero a man from the Beni Ajennad tribe.

[3] A duras is five francs.

"Bring me the donkey and take the mule," said Djeh'a.

"Here is the donkey," said the robbers, "we'll take the mule. Goodbye."

Djeh'a went to buy a plate.

When he reached the potter, he said to him: "How much is this plate?" The potter, having seen a twenty-franc gold piece in the hand of Djeh'a, answered:

"You have in your hand something which resembles it; red for red, the two objects are of equal value."

Djeh'a gave him the twenty-franc piece, took the plate and said: "For the love of God, show me how I can carry this plate."

"You don't know how to carry it?"

"If I knew I would not have asked you."

"Bring it here. I will show you how to carry it."

The potter took the plate, lifted out the bottom leaving only the ring which he hung around the neck of Djeh'a who got on his donkey and returned home. When he reached the house his mother said to him: "Where is the mule, my son?"

"I traded it for this donkey because it was much too large. I was afraid of falling some day and dying. You would then have been left without anyone to work for you. That is why I made the trade."

"And the plate which I asked you to buy, where is it?"

"Here it is," answered Djeh'a.

"How's this, you have taken out the bottom? How can we use it now?"

"There was no other way to carry it," replied Djeh'a. "The owner arranged it this way; then I fastened it there! Besides," he added, "I got it for a twenty-franc piece."

"Look here! This is good!" said the mother. "You trade a mule for a donkey and a twenty-franc piece for a plate. What will they call you from now on?"

"Mother," answered Djeh'a, "the owner of the plate said to me: 'Red for red, there is no difference.' I thought it was true. I gave him the twenty-franc piece and took the plate."

"My God," cried the old woman, "here is your house. Do what you like with it. As for me, I am leaving; I have had enough!"

"If you leave, Mother, why should I stay in this country?"

"(If I leave)," she answered, "it is because you have no experience of life."

Si Djeh'a went to market again. He entirely covered his donkey with twenty-franc pieces of gold, glueing them on the animal and took him along. When he reached the market, he met his friends who said to him: "How are you, comrade?"

"Thank God," replied Djeh'a, "I am fine. And you, are you well?"

"Well," they said. "Did you do a good business with us?"

"I thank God continually," replied Djeh'a. "Your donkey has been producing twenty-franc gold pieces ever since I took him."

"Bring him to us until we see," said the four robbers.

"He is over there—come and see."

One of them went with Djeh'a. He found the donkey covered with twenty-franc gold pieces. He returned to his companions and said to them: "My children, let us plead with Djeh'a. Perhaps he will listen to us and give us back the donkey which is making these pieces of gold."

They found Djeh'a and said to him: "Dear Djeh'a, if the Lord is your guide, you will grant us our donkey. We will give you back your mule and your money."

"I will not accept that," replied Djeh'a. They begged him.

"If you wish me to give the mule back to you, add another hundred douros."

"We will give you that."

"Then bring my mule here, besides the hundred douros that I gave you, add to that one hundred douros from your own pocket and you can take your donkey."

They took their donkey and Djeh'a took his mule, mounted him, and went home, after giving the following advice: "Whoever keeps the donkey all night will give him grass so that he will be well fed. He will put under him his haïks and the next day he will find his haïks full of twenty-franc gold pieces."

The robbers left. One of them kept the donkey all night. He gave him grass and placed under him his haïks. During the night the donkey ate and had diarrhea and filled the haïk with dung. The next day one of the companions came and when he took the donkey, the first said to him, "My friend, the donkey has enriched me. Be sure to give him plenty of green stuff in order that he can eat all night; place large haïks under him to be sure not to lose any of the gold pieces."

The friend left with the donkey. Arriving at his home, he went to his garden and cut a large quantity of grass and took

it to the animal. The next day he found his haïks covered the same as the first man.

The third took the donkey and the same thing happened to him. It was the same for the fourth. The last robber went to his companions and said, "How is this? You took all the twenty-franc gold pieces and left me only the dung."

"It seems that Djeh'a has played a trick on us," answered one of the friends. "Come and see our houses."

They visited all the houses and found that the same thing had happened to all.

"Let us go at once to Djeh'a," they said. "We will fight with him."

THE TRADITION OF THE HEDGEHOG [4]

In olden times the hedgehog was a man. One day he stole a card. The owner of this card said to him, "Give me back my card, you are the one who stole it." The other replied, "I have not seen it." Whereupon the owner said, "Swear to me that you were not the one who stole it." He gave his oath. At once God changed him into a hedgehog.

THE TRADITION OF THE PORCUPINE [5]

In the time past, the porcupine was a man. He borrowed a comb from someone. When the one from whom he had borrowed the comb came to ask for it the man denied having it. The owner said to him, "Swear this is true," and he took his oath. Immediately God changed him into a porcupine and the teeth of the comb came out on his skin. One cannot commit with impunity an abuse of confidence.

THE TRADITION OF THE TORTOISE [6]

Once upon a time the tortoise was a man. One day he stole a hand-mill. The owner said to him, "You are the one who stole my hand-mill, give it back to me." "I did not steal it." "Swear to me that you did not steal it." He took the oath. Immediately God placed a mill on the top of him and another under him and changed him into a tortoise.

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[4] Bel Kassem Ben Sedira, Cours de *Langue* Kabyle, p. CCXIII.

[5] Bel Kassem Ben Sedira, Cours de *Langue* Kabyle, p. CCXIV.

[6] Idem.

THE BIRTH OF THE CAT AND THE RAT [7]

One day the lion met the wild boar. The wild boar said to him, "I surpass you in everything." The lion replied, "I surpass you in everything." The wild boar continued, "If I should sneeze, I can cause to be born from my nostrils a being that will eat you." "Sneeze," answered the lion, "and I will sneeze." The wild boar sneezed and gave birth to a rat. The lion sneezed and gave birth to a cat. The cat pursued the rat. The rat ran into a hole. The lion said to the wild boar, "I surpass you for my son has pursued yours."

THE TRADITION OF THE CROW [8]

In the time past, the crow was a woman. One day, someone sent her to carry a deposit to his owner. She took it and left. On the way she hid it. Several days later the owner of the deposit arrived and said to the one who had had it: "Give me my deposit." "I sent it to you in the care of a woman." "She never brought it to me." They sent for the woman. The one who had given her the commission said to her, "Where is the deposit which I asked you to give to its owner?" "I gave it to him." "You did not give it to me," answered the one to whom it was to have been given. "Swear to me that you gave it to me and I will let you go." She took the oath. Immediately God changed her into a crow. This was a violation of confidence which shows us the creation of the crow.

THE TRADITION OF THE GOLDFINCH [9]

A long time ago, the goldfinch was a woman. On the day of her marriage she was taken, according to Kabyle custom, on a mule to the home of her husband. Upon arriving she was hungry but she dared not say, "Give me something to eat." She waited until everyone had gone out, then took some bread to eat secretly. Seeing the people coming back she hid the bread between her legs. At once God changed her into a goldfinch because the marriage dress is variegated like the feathers of a goldfinch. It contains red, white, yellow, black and green. God changed her thus for us to learn that the woman was dressed as a bride when she committed the robbery.

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[7] Ibid, p. CCXV.

[8] Bel Kassem Ben Sedira, Cours de *Langue* Kabyle, p. CCXVI.

[9] Bel Kassem Ben Sedira, Cours de *Langue* Kabyle, p. CCXVIII.

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